

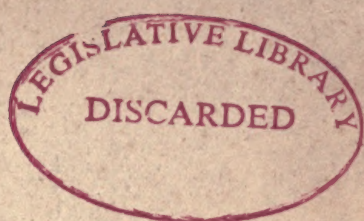
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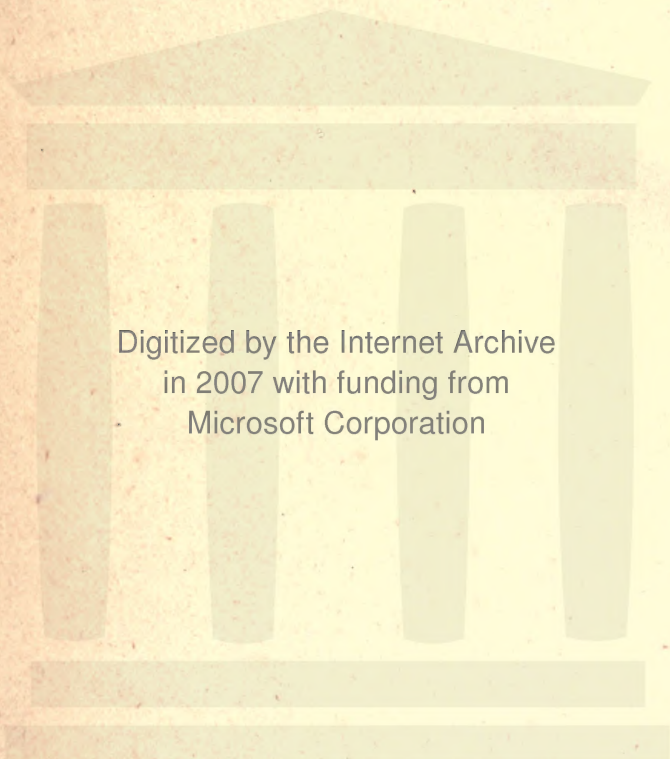
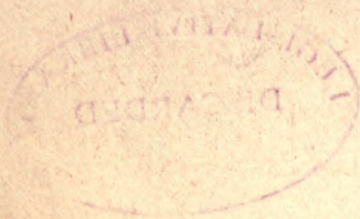
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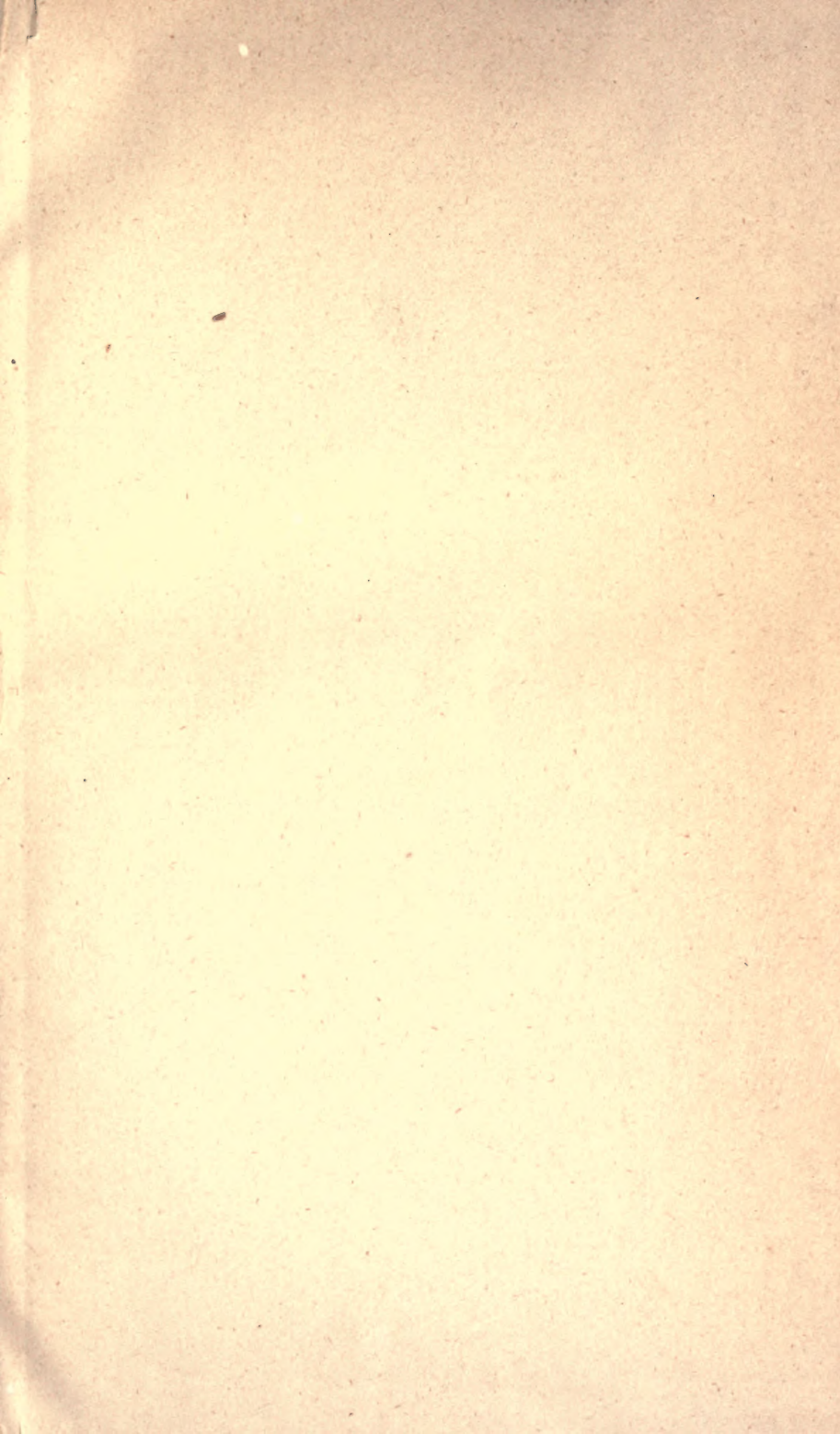
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VOL. IX. — FOURTH SERIES.

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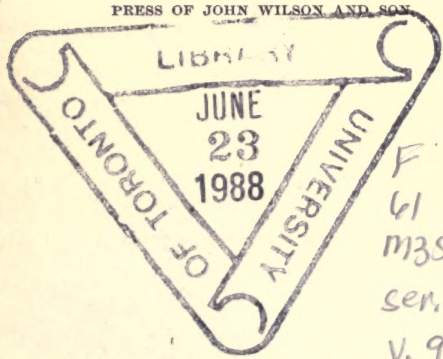
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PREFATORY REMARKS.

THE papers printed in this and the following volume, forming the 9th and 10th volumes of the Fourth Series, were collected, together with many others, during a long residence abroad, by the Chairman of the Publishing Committee. A large part of them had been in the possession of the late GEORGE CHALMERS, the distinguished American annalist, and after his death were dispersed among the booksellers of London.

The entire collection is now the property of SAMUEL L. M. BARLOW, Esquire, an eminent counsellor of the city of New York.

Boston, May 6, 1871.

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ASPINWALL PAPERS.

PART I.

THE ASPINWALL PAPERS.

VIRGINIA.

AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL, the 13th July, 1617.

AN Open Warrant for the reprieve of Christopher Potley, Roger Powell, Sapcot Molineux, Thomas Middleton and Thomas Crouchley, prisoners in Oxford Goal, and to deliver them unto Sir Thomas Smyth k^t to be transported into Virginia or other parts beyond the seas, with provisoe, that they return not again into England, according

NOTE. — The minutes above, from the British State Paper Office, show that the transportation of convicts to Virginia did not begin, as supposed by some, and by Mr. Jefferson among them, at a late period, after the first settlement of the colony. It is nevertheless true, that, during the first ten years, from 1607 to 1617, the emigrants were exclusively of other classes. In the outset, under the charter of 1606, the greater portion were gentlemen, with tradesmen and efficient laborers barely enough to form a sort of village community, but utterly insufficient for a colony dependent upon its own labor and the productions of the country for food and other necessary supplies.

In 1611, the plantation, as a residence, had fallen into such discredit with the laboring as well as the higher classes, that very few of either came out to Virginia. Sir Thomas Dale, who sailed from England early in that year, wrote in the following August to the Earl of Salisbury, that the people brought over with him were such as they were "enforced" to take; "gathering them in riotous, lazy, and infected places: such disordered persons, so profane, so riotous, so full of mutiny and treasonable intendments, that, in a parcel of three hundred, not many gave testimony, beside their names, that they were Christians; and, besides, were of such diseased and crazed bodies, that the sea [voyage] hither and the climate here, but a little scratching them, render them so unhabile [powerless], faint, and desperate of recovery, that, of three hundred, not threescore may be employed upon any labor or service." Hamor vindicates the severities of Sir Thomas Dale's administration, as well as "his severe and strict imprinted book of articles" (*i.e.*, The Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martiall), as needful for the salvation of the colony; and he calls the offenders, who were most cruelly punished, "dangerous, incurable members, for no use so fit as to make examples to others." The treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, at a later day, in defending himself before the Grievance Committee in Parliament, alleges that Lord De la Warre, Sir Thomas Dale, Sir Thomas Gates, and Captain Argall, did all see the necessity of such laws; and the two latter, then living, were ready to testify, that the colony,

to the form of a former Warrant entered at large the 24th March last.

Upon Certificate from Sir Peter Warberton & Sir Randall Crew.

consisting of such *deboyst* (debauched) and irregular persons, could not possibly continue, unless the severe laws above referred to should be made and published, in some cases *ad terrorem*, and in some to be truly executed. Smith (p. 165) says one hundred good laborers and mechanical men would have done more than one thousand such as went with Lord De la Warre, &c.

In the sequel of his letter, Sir Thomas Dale recommends the Earl of Salisbury, in the ensuing spring, to send out two thousand men to occupy a line of five or six military posts from Hampton to about one hundred miles on James River, above Jamestown. This re-enforcement, he conceived, would effectually curb the insolence of Powhatan for the present; and eventually, with increasing strength and numbers in the settlements, give them the undisturbed control of the whole territory, and insure to the king great revenue from a prosperous and richly productive colony. To make up the more expeditiously this proposed number of two thousand, he urged the transportation to the colony of all convicts condemned to die, out of the common gaols in the realm; and this to be continued for three years. These convicts, he adds, "are not always the worst kind of men, either for birth, spirit, or body," and "would be right glad to escape a just sentence, and make this (Virginia) their new country, and plant therein with all diligence, cheerfulness, and comfort: whereas now, throughout our little colony, owing to some present want of English provisions, almost every man laments himself of being here, and murmurs at his present state; though, haply, he could not better it in England." Owing to the failing health of the Earl when this letter arrived, and to his Lordship's death in the close of the next spring, Sir Thomas Dale's suggestions were probably unheeded. But in June, 1616, when he returned to England in Argall's ship, accompanied by Pocahontas and her husband, John Rolfe, on his arrival at Plymouth he wrote to his friend, Sir Ralph Winwood, then Secretary of State, to urge the policy of speedily augmenting the population of Virginia, and entreats him "to spur us forward to inhabit there." The whole tenor of his letter shows that he still retained all his enthusiastic admiration of Virginia, of the advantages she would afford to England as a relief for her superabundant population, as abounding in supplies for commerce and the navy, and as capable of countervailing, by her importance, the arrogant and jealous hostility of Spain. His endeavors to make up any deficiency in the numbers, sent out, by transporting convicts, appear to have met with success, as early as the 24th of March, 1617, the date of the first warrant entered at large.

The scarcity of laborers, and the profit accruing from the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia, were both so great at this period, that the services even of convicts were coveted.

The king, who loved the revenue derived from tobacco as much as he detested the weed itself, was anxious that its cultivation should not languish for want of laborers; and as he was not restrained by any special law, or any very scrupulous concern for the liberty of the subject, from transporting or banishing whomsoever he chose, he gladly availed himself of all opportunities for supplying the required labor by compulsory transportation, not only of convicts, who, beside being an actual encumbrance and expense, deserved expulsion as nuisances to the community, but also of individuals whose only crime was poverty.

In November, 1619, he commanded the treasurer and company, forthwith and at their own expense, to send away to Virginia one hundred dissolute persons, who, as the treasurer understood, would be very acceptable to the colony. It does not appear that these persons had ever been convicted. In fact, it is evident that it was easy to procure from the Secretary of State a warrant for transporting any vagrant or pauper. The warrant of the 28th of January, 1620, for transporting one hundred youths, was obtained of the Secre-

AT HAMPTON COURT — The last of September 1617.

An open Warrant for the reprieving of James Knott out of the prison of Newgate, being convict of Felony, and to deliver him to Sir Thomas Smith, Knight, Governor of the East India Company, or his Assignees, to be Conveyed to the East Indies or other parts beyond the Seas, with proviso not to return into England according to the form of a former warrant entered at large the 24th of March last.

Upon Certificate from the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London.

Another warrant for the reprieving of Henry Hall out of the Goal of Cambridge, being convict of Felony, to be delivered to the said Sir Thomas Smith or his Assignees, to be conveyed as in the former Warrant.

Upon Certificate from the Mayor and Recorder of Cambridge.

27 Sept. 1618. A warrant for the reprieveing of Henry Johnson, Prisoner in Newgate, Convicted of Fel-

tary, Naunton, by Sir Edwin Sandys, at the instance of the Lord Mayor of London; the city contributing £500 towards the expense, in order "to rid itself of the burden of them." The children objecting to go were ordered to be bound to severe masters. (Virginia Papers, State Paper Office.)

It is known, that, in Sir Edwin Sandys' administration as treasurer, ninety young maids were sent out to make wives for the farmer tenants (Comp. Decl., 1620); whether with their own consent or by compulsion is not stated.

In November the previous year, 1618, one Robinson, a clerk in some office, was convicted in the Court of King's Bench, and three days after executed, for counterfeiting the Great Seal of England.

He was accustomed, under color of royal letters-patent, to extort money from ale-house-keepers, and small usurers in the country; and also to take up rich yeoman's daughters to serve His Majesty as *breeders in Virginia*, unless they paid him money for their release. (II. Birch. Court of James I. p. 107.)

In a letter dated 18 August, 1627, from the Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, one of the Company, it is said, "There are many ships now going to Virginia, and with them, some fourteen or fifteen hundred children, which they have gathered up in divers places. (I. Birch. Charles, p. 262.)

On the 6th of April, 1638, Secretary Kemp wrote to the Secretary of State, Windebanke, that, of the hundreds of people who are now transported, scarce any are brought but as merchandise, and sold to the planters as servants. (State Paper Office, Am. and Va.)

ony, but not for any Murder, &c., as appeareth by the certificate of the Lord Mayor and the Recorder; and to be sent by Sir Thomas Smith, Kn^t Governor of the East India Company, or his assigns, to the East Indies, or other parts beyond the seas, where he shall direct.

Council Reg^d

6 Oct^r 1618. The same to Anne Russell, to be sent to Virginia or other parts beyond the sea.

30 Nov. 1618. James Stringer, a prisoner in New Gate, to be delivered to Sir Tho. Smith, to be sent to Virginia or other parts beyond the Seas.

A Warrant for Transporting Youths to Virginia was issued 28 January, 1619-20.

11 April 1620. Several persons were pardoned & ordered to be sent to the Summer Isles, by Letter to Sir Tho. Smyth.

LETTER OF JOHN PORY, SECRETARY OF VIRGINIA, TO SIR
DUDLEY CARLETON.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORDE — Having mett with so fitt a messenger as this man of warre of Flushing,* I could not but imparte with your lordship (to

* This Dutch man-of-war is the one which, Smith says (Va. p. 126), "sold us twenty negars," the first Africans imported into this country, and the vessel from whose commander, serving under the flag of a friendly power, Kendall, Deputy-governor of Bermuda, extorted fourteen negroes as the price of water and victuals, which had been at first refused, though asked for to save the lives of the famished ship's company. The negroes were part of one hundred captured from a Spanish vessel by the ship "Treasurer," Captain Elfred (I. Burke, p. 326; Smith's Va. p. 190). This vessel, as early as 1612, was employed in the service of the colony, under the command of Captain Argall (Strachey, chap. 9). Argall had previously sailed to and from Virginia, twice as commander; first, in 1609, in a vessel sent out with the leave of the Council in London, by John Cornelius, one of the company, "to trucke with the colony and fish for sturgeon;" and, in the following year, in the "Delawarre," by which her owner, Lord Delawarre, the Governor and Captain-general, came out to Virginia in June, and, on account of ill health, returned for England the next March, 1611. In the first vessel, "Cornelius's, small barke," he took a new course,

whom I am so everlastingly bounde) these poore fruites of our labours here; wherein though your worship will

north of the Azores, instead of "tracing through the torrid zone" as usual. He also yielded willingly to the uncereemonious seizure of the "wines, biscuits," and other provisions of that vessel, which the necessities of the starving colonists enforced them to take, although his voyage was thereby lost. (Smith's Va. p. 88; IV. Purch. p. 1734; Planters' Declaration, Manuscript.)

From his own letter, in the fourth volume of Purchas, p. 1764, it appears, that he laid his course in the "Treasurer," to Virginia, fifty leagues to the northward of the Azores. After his arrival, he went in her to procure corn from the Indians, and brought away eleven hundred bushels for the colony, and three hundred for his ship. It was in the "Treasurer" that he effected, soon after, the capture of Pocahontas, which secured the colony from the hostility of her father Powhatan, and enabled him to make a treaty with Powhatan's enemies, the Chickahominies, for an annual tribute of corn. It was in the same ship also that he signalized himself by the reduction of the French settlements at Mount Desert, St. Croix, and Port Royal, and those of the Dutch on the Hudson.

Lord De la Warre had appointed Argall one of the five captains of companies, as early as 16th June, 1610, and, a few days after, one of his council. This last appointment was made on the eve of his departure for Bermuda in the "Discovery," in company with Sir George Somers in the "Patience," in quest of provisions for a six months' supply of the colony.

Lord De la Warre, in his relation, which he delivered to the Virginia Council in London on the 11th of June, 1611, adverts to the "trade found out by Captain Argall with Patamack, a king as great as Powhatan." About the same period, he placed Argall in command of the "Treasurer." She was owned by "Lord De la Warre, his noble associates, and some other private adventurers." (Planters' Declaration.) Pory says that Argall also was part owner. As commander, he might at first have had some small share in the vessel; but it would have hardly been compatible with his pecuniary circumstances to have retained it till 1619, two years after he left the vessel in London. The control of the vessel would of course be committed chiefly to Lord De la Warre as a principal owner, and, by his official position and other circumstances, best fitted to promote the interest of all the owners, as long as she was employed in American waters. The active command of her, the execution of orders received from the Governor-general or his deputy, remained with Argall until after his arrival at Plymouth in England, on the 3d of June, 1616, with Sir Thomas Dale, Pocahontas, and John Rolfe, her husband. His command then terminated: a few months after, he was elected Deputy-governor of Virginia, not by the particular favor of any one, if we may except his friends, the Governor-general, Lord De la Warre and his late Deputy, Sir Thomas Dale, but on account of his own distinguished personal merits and eminent services. Stith, relying implicitly upon the partisan documents and records framed by Argall's enemies, repeats their version of his conduct, and adds to it bitter and groundless accusations of his own. He is equally unsparing in his language respecting the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith, the company treasurer, and even Pory himself, who certainly, in the letter above, shows that he was no friend of Argall. Stith represents, for instance, the first voyage of Argall as illegal, and a mere act of favoritism towards a kinsman of the treasurer, and therefore connived at by the Council: yet he knew, that, the vessel belonging to Cornelius, he, and not Argall, the commander, would reap the benefit of the voyage; that she was also employed as a carrier of letters and despatches by the company; and ought also to have known that it was quite competent for the Council to license Cornelius or any other of the adventurers "to truck with the colony and to fish for sturgeon." (Smith's Va. p. 88.)

Stith also (p. 159) accuses Pory of having intentionally retarded the departure of Sir George Yeardley's ship so long as to allow a small vessel from Plymouth to reach Virginia, and enable Argall to escape before Sir George arrived to arrest him. If this were

espie many errors & imperfections, and matters of lowe esteeme; yet withall you wilbe contente to observe the

true, it might easily and ought to have been proved by the declaration of Sir George himself. But in the declaration of the 7th of May, 1623, drawn up by four of the company, it is only said, "vehemently to be presumed;" and this insinuation was made when, from his long absence, Pory might be supposed to have been lost at sea. Besides, there was, at that season of the year, no necessity for retarding the Governor's ship: a ship from Plymouth would be sure to outstrip one from London. (Smith's Va. p. 221.)

Stith also asserts (pp. 145, 153), that the "Treasurer," in 1618, was sent out to cruise against the Spaniards by the Earl of Warwick: but the circumstances show that she was sent out by Lord De la Warre, about the time of his own departure from England, to await his arrival in Virginia, the seat of his government; and, if his lordship had lived to arrive, Argall would have no power to execute the orders of any one but the Governor-general, who was sent out to supersede him. If she was revictualled and remained at Jamestown, it was a thing for which he was not responsible, and which he, if then a part-owner, could not avoid without incurring a heavy pecuniary responsibility to the other joint-owners. Besides, why should she not be victualled as well as the "Neptune" after a five months' voyage? Much provision could not have been necessary for the short trip to Bermuda, much less than for the "Neptune's" return voyage to England. If she took away men from the colony, it should be remembered that she left there forty passengers, beside her old crew. (*Ibid.*, p. 124.)

The surmise, expressed by Pory, that the visit of the "Treasurer" would provoke hostile attempts on the colony by Spain, would probably not have been uttered, had he been as familiar with the correspondence of the English representatives at the Court of Madrid as he was with the current diplomacy at most other courts in Europe. Spain regarded Virginia as an intrusive and dangerous neighbor to her possessions in the New World; but, beyond strong and menacing remonstrances, and an occasional significant display of naval preparations, she never proceeded; as, indeed, the English representatives at the Court of Madrid — Cottington, and Sir John Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol — constantly assured their government she would not.

As soon as it was known that Virginia had suffered from famine, and was maintained, or at least aided, by lotteries, the Spanish Court readily abandoned all show of active measures, in the expectation that the colony would fall of itself.

John Moore, who was employed in the foreign office, and afterwards private secretary to Sir Ralph Winwood, when principal Secretary of State, wrote to the latter in November, 1611, — a period much more critical than 1619, — "There are some fears among the weaker sort, of some foreign attempts on Virginia and Ireland, but the state doth not apprehend it, as appears by Lord Carew's cashiering one half of all the Irish forces. Neither is there care taken to supply Sir Thomas Dale with the 2000 men whom he demandeth. Neither is it likely indeed that the King of Spain will break so profitable a peace for that which may cost him dear the getting, and much dearer the keeping." (III. Winwood Mem. p. 309.)

In 1619, the thirty years' war made the Spanish Court more desirous to conciliate England than to irritate her. Soon after, the project of marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta, sister of Philip IV., was set on foot by Olivares, who proposed, as one of the conditions, that King James should surrender to the King of Spain Virginia and the Bermudas, and altogether quit the West Indies. The sinister influence of Gondomar, whom the English called "Gundamore" (Perf. Description of Virginia, p. 50), and the prospect of an immense dowry with the Infanta, would no doubt have gained James's consent to this sacrifice, if the marriage had taken place. His war against the Virginia company originated in these mercenary views. (II. Birch, James, p. 302.)

Eighteen months later, in the beginning of 1620, the "Treasurer" being found "starke rotten and unserviceable," the Governor of Bermuda, Nathaniel Butler, took out her nine guns, and placed them in the forts there. (Smith's Va. p. 191.)

very principle and rudiments of our Infant-Commonwealth; which though nowe contemptible, your worship may live to see a flourishing Estate: maugre both Spaniards & Indians. The occasion of this ship's coming hither was an accidental consortship in the West Indies with the Tresurer, an English man of warre also, licensed by a Commission from the Duke of Savoye to take Spaniards as lawfull prize. This ship, the Treasurer, wente out of England in Aprill was twelvemoneth, about a moneth, I thinke, before any peace was concluded between the king of Spaine & that prince. Hither shee came to Captaine Argall, then governour of this Colony, being parte-owner of her. Hee more for love of gaine, the root of all evill, then for any true love he bore to this Plantation, victualled & manned her anewe, and sent her with the same Commission to raunge the Indies. The evente thereof (we may misdoubte) will prove some attempte of the Spaniard upon us, either by waye of revenge, or by way of prevention; least we might in time make this place *sedem belli* against the West Indies. But our Governour being a Soldier truly bred in that university of warre, the Lowe Countries, purposeth at a place or two upon the river fortifiable to provide for them, animating in the meane while this warlike people (then whom for their small number no prince can be served with better) by his example to prepare their courages.

Both those of our nation and the Indians also have this Torride sommer bene visited with great sickness & mortality; which our good God (his name be blessed for it) hath recompensed with a marvelous plenty, suche as hath not bene since our first coming into the lande. For my selfe I was partly at land & partly at sea vexed with a calen-ture of some 4 or 5 moneths. But (praised be God) I am nowe as healthfull as ever I was in my life. Here (as your lordship cannot be ignorant) I am, for faulte of a better, Secretary of Estate, the first that ever was chosen

and appointed by Commission from the Counsell and Company in England, under their handes & comon seale. By my fees I must maintaine my selfe ; which the Governour telles me, may this yeare amounte to a matter of 300 \textsterling sterling ; whereof fifty I doe owe to himselfe, and I pray God the remainder may amounte to a hundred more. As yet I have gotten nothing, save onely (if I may speak it without boasting) a general reputation of integrity, for having spoken freely to all matters, according to my conscience ; and as neare as I could discerne, done every man right.

As touching the quality of this country, three thinges there bee which in fewe yeares may bring this Colony to perfection ; the English plough, Vineyards, & Cattle. For the first, there be many grounds here cleared by the Indians to our handes, which being much worne out, will beare no more of their corne, which requireth an extraordinary deale of sappe & substance to nourish it ; but of our graine of all sortes it will beare great abundance. We have had this yeare a plentifull cropp of English wheat, though the last harvest 1618 was onely shed upon the stubble, and so selfe-sowne, with out any other manurance. In July last so soon as we had reaped this selfe-sowen wheate, we sett Indian corne upon the same grounde, which is come up in great abundance ; and so by this meanes we are to enjoye two crops in one yeare* from off

* The fact of two crops in one year, Stith (pp. 161, 162) considers so liable to question, that, leaving it to the reader's option to believe it or not, he says "he would not have related it, had he not found it authentically recorded in the Company journals, that they had been informed by letters from Virginia, that they had had two harvests of wheat, the first being shaken by the wind, and so producing a second; and their ground was so extraordinary fat and good, that they planted Indian corn upon the stubble, and had an excellent crop of that. But," he adds, "it must be remembered that rare-ripe corn was the corn of those times, and that they usually had two crops of it in a year."

If he had looked into the Company's journals for the answer of the General Assembly of 1624 to the fourth proposition of the king's commissioners, he would have found that the whole Assembly believed in the production of two successive crops of English wheat in one season from the same spot of ground.

Williams, in his "Virginia Truly Valued" (p. 3, ed. 1650), mentions a double harvest of winter wheat in June, and barley in September.

one & the same fielde. The greattest labour we have yet bestowed upon English wheate, hath bene upon newe broken up groundes, one ploughing onely & one harrowing, far shorte of the Tilthe used in Christendome, which when we shall have ability enough to performe, we shall produce miracles out of this earthe. Vines here are in suche abundance, as where soever a man treads, they are ready to embrace his foote. I have tasted here of a great black grape as big as a Damascin, that hath a true Muscatell-taste; the vine whereof now spending itselſe to the topps of high trees, if it were reduced into a vineyard, and there domesticated, would yield incomparable fruite. The like or a better taste have I founde in a lesser sorte of black grapes. White grapes also of great excellency I have hearde to be in the country; but they are very rare, nor did I ever see or taste of them. For cattle, they do mightily increase here, both kine, hogges & goates, and are much greater in stature, then the race of them first brought out of England. No lesse are our horses and mares likely to multiply, which proove of a delicate shape, & of as good spirite & metall. All our riches for the present doe consiste in Tobacco,* wherein one man by his owne labour hath in one yeare raised to himselfe to the value of 200*l* sterling; and another by the meanes of sixe

* Tobacco was so much the regular currency of the colony, that the General Assembly of 1619 petitioned the Treasurer, Council, and Company, in London, that money should not be exacted of them for the Company rents, as they had none at all, nor any mint, but only value in commodities. The value was fixed first in Argall's time, and secondly by the Assembly of 1619, at three shillings the pound weight for the best, and eighteen pence for the second sort. At that rate, it was exchanged for articles brought by the Magazine ship; the importer being allowed twenty-five per cent profit on his goods. It was often at first sold in London at eight or ten shillings the pound; but only the Company, licensed traders, and wealthy land-owners, could dispose of their tobacco in London or elsewhere, so as to derive any benefit from high prices. Even the favored monopolists at times found their profits nearly annihilated by the admission of Spanish tobacco and the heavy duties exacted by the king. These oppressive measures hastened the impeachment of Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex. In 1624, Sir Edwin Sandys, whose re-election as treasurer of the Virginia Company had been forbidden by the king, seconded the charge against Lord Middlesex brought forward by Lord Coke. (Parl. Hist. VI. p. 149.)

On the 26th of June, 1636, Governor Harvey proposed sending to Virginia farthing tokens to remedy the scarcity of money. (Am. and W.I. State Papers.)

servants hath cleared at one crop a thousand pound English. These be true, yet indeed rare examples, yet possible to be done by others. Our principall wealth (I should have said) consisteth in servants:* but they are chardgeable to be furnished with armes, apparell & bedding, & for

* The value of a servant's annual labor, depending chiefly on the market-value in London of the great staple, tobacco, was probably higher at this than at any later period. Governor Yeardley, three years before, had drawn the whole colony into the cultivation of the plant. In the London market, its price was then eight or ten shillings the pound, and the gain as yet was not diminished by the exactions of the Crown, or of its favored contractors and farmers of the customs. In 1623, Smith (Va. p. 165) stated to the royal commissioners, that "a man's labor a year in tobacco was valued at fifty or sixty pounds, but in corn not ten pounds." In the same year, laborers were let on hire for a year, at one hundred pounds of tobacco, and three barrels or fifteen bushels of corn. (Wyatt's letter to Farrar.) In a petition, of nearly the same date, to the king, Francis West and others said, that, "after the freight and king's taxes were deducted, tobacco was of no value," except, of course, as currency in the colony. Hence the profit on the servant hired out would not exceed seventeen pounds per annum.

In 1617, Lord De la Warre for one hundred pounds paid, engaged to transport to Virginia seven able men belonging to Lord Zouch, to subsist them there, and to return to Lord Zouch or his assigns, one full third of the profit of their labor, until, by the custom of the country, they became freemen, after which, such rent for their lives as they could bear.

By the laws of the General Assembly of 1619, which, though not formally confirmed in England, were practically adopted in Virginia, contracts made in England between land-owners and servants, or tenants, were to be enforced by the Governor and Council. Servants engaged in England, but staying behind, and afterwards coming out, under engagement to another master, were required to serve out, first, the term with the person who brought him to Virginia, and afterwards the term agreed on with the former master.

Servants were forbidden to trade with the Indians: the penalty was whipping, unless the master chose to pay a fine of one angel.

Female servants could not marry without the consent, either of the parents, or of the master or mistress, or of both the magistrate and the minister of the place. Ministers marrying persons without such consent were subject to the censure of the Governor and Council.

Servants were bought and sold. Smith decries, as odious and destructive to the colony, the practice of the Company and private persons in selling servants "for forty, fifty, or threescore pounds, whom the Company hath sent out at ten pounds at most, without regard as to how they shall be maintained with apparel, meat, drink, and lodging." (Smith's Va. p. 166.)

The case of Thomas Garnett, who was arraigned before this Assembly at the instance of William Powell, his master, furnishes a sample of the extreme severity with which servants were punished in those days. His main offence probably was that he had petitioned the Governor against his master; charging him, as the latter construed it, with drunkenness and theft. To this offence was added, by way of aggravation, neglect of his master's work, and a rather ambiguous, indefinite statement of wantonness with a widow servant of Powell. Garnett had called on his fellow-servants to testify in his behalf; but, as the report only says, in loose terms, they justly failed him, it is quite as possible that they were deterred by fear from testifying to the truth, or attending the trial at all, as that they did appear, and give evidence in their master's favor. Governor Yeardley himself gave the sentence, that Garnett should stand four successive days with his ears nailed to the pillory, and, on every one of those four days, should be publicly whipped.

their transportation, and casuall both at sea, & for their first yeare commonly at lande also: but if they escape, they prove very hardy, and sound able men. Nowe that

NOTE.—The writer of the above letter, as well as the Governor (Yeardley) alluded to in it, was an original adventurer, or patentee, under the Virginia charter of 1609. Both are designated in it as gentlemen.

Of Pory, the earliest notice extant is found in the epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, prefixed to the edition of "Hakluyt's Voyages," published in 1600. Hakluyt there says, "Now, because I did foresee that my profession of divinity, the care of my family and other occasions, might call and divert me from these kind of endeavors, I have for these three years last past encouraged and furthered, in these studies, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend, Mr. John Pory, one of special skill and extraordinary hope, to perform great matters in the same, and beneficial to the Commonwealth."

In the same year, with the encouragement and good counsel of his friend Hakluyt, Pory published in London his translation of the "Geographical Historie of Africa," from the Arabic and Italian of "Leo Africanus," accompanied with considerable additions written or collected by himself. Purchas borrowed largely from this book in those parts of his second and fifth volumes which relate to Africa.

The original and only edition of Pory's "Africa" has now become rare. A copy has been sought for in vain, both at home and abroad. Dibdin, in mentioning the work of "Leo Africanus," speaks of Pory's English version as if he were not aware that it was published in a separate form in 1600, but supposed it to be extant only in the pages of Purchas, printed a quarter of a century later. It is mentioned, however, by Watt (II. Bibliog. 770, u), by Lowndes (Bibl. Man. art. "Leo"), by Wood (I. Fasti, p. 175), and by Hugh Murray (Africa, vol. ii. p. 537). Watt calls the author "a learned traveller and geographer."

Pory was born about 1570. The place and year of his birth are not certainly known. From the researches of our much respected associate, H. G. Somerby, Esq., we learn, that, in April, 1636, administration on his estate was granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to Anne Ellis, wife of Robert Ellis, and sister of John Pory, late of Sutton St. Edmunds, Lincolnshire, bachelor, deceased intestate. Hence it appears that he did not remain, as hitherto supposed, in London up to the period of his death; and we may conjecture, that, in 1631, when his declining health compelled him to discontinue his professional epistolary labors as an intelligencer, he naturally went back to Sutton to find the comfort of a home in the society of his family, and to be buried in the place where he was born.

He was educated at Cambridge, in Caius College, where he was entered in 1587. His name does not appear in the "Catalogus Cantabrigiensis;" but Maty (Review, vol. v. p. 123) asserts that he took his degrees there, although the time of his leaving college is not known. It is certain that the degree A.M. must have been conferred on him at Cambridge; for, on the 17th of April, 1610, he was incorporated (admitted *ad eundem*) in the same degree at Oxford, together with Dryden's "greatest wit, but not best poet, of the nation," the celebrated John Donne, afterwards D.D. and Dean of St. Paul's (Wood's Fasti, II. An. 1610). The year before, Donne himself had sought to be secretary for Virginia. (Birch, I. James, p. 87.)

At this time, 1610, Pory was a member of Parliament. His letter of the 17th July to his friend Sir Ralph Winwood, then ambassador at Brussels, contains a clear and interesting account of the transactions of the House on that day, in relation to the king's demand for a grant of permanent revenue, as well as to his partial refusal of the parliament's counter-demand for enlarged freedom, and, on the other hand, to the House's grant to the king of £200,000 fixed annual revenue, subject to eight stringent conditions.

In the beginning of 1612, he was employed on the part of the king to carry a treatise, the joint production of the Bishop of Ely and Casaubon, to Cardinal Perron, in answer

your lordship may knowe, that we are not the veriest beggers in the worlde, our cowekeeper here of James citty on Sundays goes accowtered all in freshe flaming silke; and

to a letter of his sent to the king; and likewise a good part of Elizabeth's life, collected with the help of Sir Robert Cotton, and written by Camden, to be given to De Thou, the historian, for insertion in the new edition of his work. The object of the first message was to vindicate the king's theological opinions; of the second, to defend the character of his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots.

In the following August, he was again in Paris, as confidential agent and correspondent, literary and political, or intelligencer, as it was then called, of Lord George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totness (Birch, I. James, p. 194). Lord Carew was one of the original adventurers, and a member of the Council of Virginia under the charter of 1609. At the period of Pory's employment, he was Master of the Ordnance throughout England, and a privy-councillor. Lord Carew, in addition to his merits as a soldier and statesman, was a lover and patron of learning. Pory was favored with the friendship of His Lordship as long as the latter lived; and was on such terms of intimacy as to remonstrate freely against his permitting, as Master of the Ordnance, some of the field-guns to be sent from the Tower to the Morisco chief of Sallee, previously a nest of pirates, for the redemption of English captives. (Birch, I. Char. 243.)

In the following summer of 1613, when visiting Turin on a tour of curiosity, Pory found himself bare of funds. In his hour of need, he applied to Sir Dudley Carleton for a loan of fourteen doubloons to extricate him from his difficulties. Sir Dudley sent him the money; but, in writing to his friend Chamberlain (Birch, I. James, p. 256), on the 9th of July, intimates that he had done so more from respect to Pory's friends than to himself; "for I hear," says he, "that he hath fallen too much in love with the pot to be much esteemed by any one." Chamberlain, in his reply, three weeks after, confirms these unfavorable reports by fresh information received from those whom Pory currently styled his "best friends." (*Ibid.*, p. 264.) Birch himself, in a note, considers it a point established, that "he followed the custom of strong potations." (*Ibid.*, II. James, pp. 29, 30.)

It is, however, not very probable that Pory's intemperance was excessive or habitual; for, four years later, when in quest of some person "whose pen and head he might use for his own ease," Sir Dudley was anxious to secure his services at the Hague, and gave as a reason for preferring Pory to all others, that he "loved an old acquaintance." Chamberlain also seemed, at that time, not to be aware of any habit of Pory's that would disqualify him for the place of secretary; for he wrote, in reply to Sir Dudley, that he could not bethink himself "of any man so fit for his purpose as Mr. Pory," and promised to spur him up to the journey." Chamberlain well knew the competency of Pory for the diplomatic service in view. He had himself, three years before, when aiming to dash the hopes of Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Dudley's competitor for the embassy at the court of France, adroitly, and with feigned hesitation, brought forward what he calls a "discourse of Mr. Pory's," which had weight enough to "put" Sir Henry to silence all the day after." (Birch, I. James, p. 311; II. do. pp. 40, 48.)

Birch (*Ibid.*, I. James, p. 388) expresses a doubt of Pory's ever having visited Constantinople. It is certain, however, that he was there in 1615, and, Chamberlain says, was with Secretary Winwood, on his return. In the letter above, Pory also alludes to his having been in Turkey. (Birch, I. James, p. 388.)

Sir Dudley Carleton begins his letter to Chamberlain, of the 12th of August in that year, with these words: "If Mr. Pory have (done) with Constantinople," &c., and adds, "He shall be welcome to me. . . . You may assure him of good usage." Chamberlain communicated Sir Dudley's wishes, which were cordially received by Pory, and procured for him despatches of the Foreign Office to carry to Sir Dudley. Pory engaged his passage on board a Dutch vessel of twelve hundred tons, bound to Amsterdam; but had to wait

a wife of one that in England had professed the black arte, not of a scholler, but of a collier of Croydon, weares her rough bever hatt with a faire perle hattband, and a

"from Wednesday till Monday on account of the poverty of the Treasury," — as Sir Dudley wrote, "for want of wings; there being no money to pay the post." Notwithstanding his eagerness to avail himself of Sir Dudley's proposals, it appears, that, on his arrival, he made great haste to be gone, "having too many irons in the fire to think of any settled course" at the Hague; and so, says Sir Dudley, "I have said nothing to him about the matter." Pory, however, was deeply sensible of Sir Dudley's kind treatment, and would willingly have entered his service upon the slightest invitation. (Birch, II. James, pp. 32, 39, 48; Carleton Letters, p. 168.)

But the death of Pory's true friend, the Secretary Winwood, on the 27th of October following, awakened in the breast of Sir Dudley the hope of succeeding him as Secretary of State. Pory gave him the welcome information, that among the distinguished advocates of his claims was the "Lady Elizabeth," as the king's daughter, the Queen of Bohemia, chose to be called at court. Sir Robert Naunton was, however, the successful candidate. (*Ibid.*, p. 52.)

Almost immediately after, Pory was employed, as several others were, by the Privy Council, to bring back Lord Ross, the spendthrift grandson of the Earl of Exeter, who, to the great grief of his family, had become a Catholic, and, through the management of the Spanish minister, had escaped to Rome, where he was received with distinguished honor by the sovereign pontiff. Pory, on his return, however, would not acknowledge that he had been farther than Turin and the south of France. The mission was without success, and the young lord died near Naples, June 27, 1618. (Birch, I. James, pp. 450-474.)

In the year 1618, Pory visited Sir Dudley at Middlebury, in Zealand, where he was again invited, but without effect, to share in the labors of the embassy. The *mens leva*, — as Pory, in the letter above, calls it, — the restless curiosity, the love of change and novelty, which made him a traveller, could not be chained down to a fixed routine of bureau duties.

Besides, at this period, Pory's inclination for travel naturally took a new direction. The material interests of the Virginia adventurers, of which he was one, were believed to be in great peril from mismanagement at home and in the colony. Sir Thomas Smith's administration of their affairs was loudly complained of; and Governor Argall was accused of misrule, rapacity, and oppression. At the earnest desire, it was said, of the colony, Lord De la Warre, the Governor and Captain-general, was sent out, in April, 1618, in a "large vessel," according to Stith, "of some two hundred and fifty tons," as Smith says, with two hundred men, to take the government of the colony out of the hands of his subordinate. The ship, after a rough passage of sixteen weeks, arrived at James City with the afflicting intelligence that Lord De la Warre had died at sea.

Meanwhile, the clamor against Argall, stimulated by complaints from Virginia, had gone on increasing in England, until the body of adventurers could hardly be restrained from flying to the king for protection. To avert so injudicious and perilous an avowal of the incompetency of the Company and Council, Sir Thomas Smith, with others of the Council, on the 23d of August, wrote to Argall, charging him with the crimes and misdemeanors reported to them. They also addressed a letter to Lord De la Warre, in which, after recounting the charges against Argall, and the excessive discontent of the adventurers, they besought His Lordship to send him to England; his tobacco, furs, and other goods to the company; and, lastly, to compel him to make restitution in Virginia of all things, public or private, which he had wrongfully taken.

All this correspondence, as well as all earlier documents originally in Lord De la Warre's possession, fell into the hands of Argall. Of course, he had ample time to provide for his own safety; and it can hardly be supposed, that he, an old English navigator, could not procure at Plymouth the pinnace which came to Jamestown about Easter, 1619, to take

silken suite thereto correspondent. But to leave the Populace, and to come higher; the Governor here, who at his first coming, besides a great deale of worth in his person,

him to England, by the instrumentality of his nautical friends in Plymouth, without the aid of the Earl of Warwick or any one else, as alleged by the earl's enemies.

The death of Lord De la Warre was known in London on the 5th of October, 1618. Argall's successor, Captain George Yeardley, together with John Pory as his secretary, was chosen, probably, on the 18th of the following month, at the earliest Quarterly Court. He was invested with all the power and authority of Governor and Captain-general; and, on being confirmed at the Quarterly Meeting, about the first of February, received the honor of knighthood. Among the instructions given him by the treasurer and Council, was one for proceeding against Captain Argall in Virginia, where it was said the facts were committed, and the proofs on both sides could be readily obtained. (Stith, p. 157; Smith's Va. p. 126; Birch, II. James, p. 91.)

Of the great charter of orders and laws mentioned in the preamble of various land-grants of Sir George Yeardley, as dated on the 13th November, 1618, little is known; but it must have contained authority for calling the first General Assembly of the colony. It was directed to Governor Yeardley and the Council in Virginia; and being in fact superseded, on the 24th July, 1621, by a similar ordinance of the Company in London, brought over by Sir Francis Wyatt, might have been thrown aside as of little value, or have been retained by Governor Yeardley, and so lost to the public. (Stith's App. p. 32.)

On Governor Yeardley's arrival in Virginia, John Pory was added to the Council, as well as Nathaniel Powell, the late Deputy-governor, and John Rolfe, the former secretary of Argall. If Rolfe had been "turned out of his place of secretary," as Stith surmises (p. 157), because the company was offended with his "too great . . . subserviency to Argall's malpractices," Sir George Yeardley, of all men, would be the last to venture upon so bold and obvious a mark of disrespect to his official superiors. That the company was not thus offended is clear from the fact, that he was appointed a second time one of the Governor's Council by their ordinance of 1621, mentioned above.

The General Assembly met on the 30th of July, and, owing to the extreme heat, which caused the death of one burgess and the illness of others, adjourned on the 4th of August. John Pory was chosen Speaker, and was no doubt the only one present who had any parliamentary experience. According to the Record of Proceedings, he "first formed the Assembly, and, to their great ease and expedition, reduced all matters to be treated of into a ready method, but also, his indisposition notwithstanding, wrote or dictated all orders and other expedients, and was also to write, after the session, several books for all the several corporations and plantations, both of the great charter and of all the laws." For these services, and, those of the Clerk, the Sergeant of the Assembly, and the Provost of James City, a tax of one pound of the best tobacco was laid upon every man and man-servant above sixteen years of age, to be delivered, on or after the 14th of the following February, into the hands of the Speaker, for distribution to him and the others, "according to their degrees and ranks."

The laws enacted by this Assembly were sent to England, but never formally confirmed by the Company. (Stith, p. 160, and App. p. 33.) Chalmers's copy of the proceedings came into the possession of the writer of this note more than a quarter of a century ago, and would have been inserted in this volume had not another copy, since procured by our distinguished countryman, the Hon. George Bancroft, been by him already presented to the public in the "Collections of the New-York Historical Society."

Smith (Va. p. 141) gives Pory's sketch of three excursions made by himself in 1621 and 1622. The two first were to the shores of the Chesapeake, in the vicinity of Accomac and the Patuxent; and the third, overland, to the river Chowan in North Carolina.

In the first, he made a slight acquaintance with Namenacus, the King of Patuxent; and, by his invitation, paid him a visit in the second excursion, six weeks later. The wily

brought onely his sword with him, was at his late being in London, together with his lady, out of his meer gettings here, able to disburse very near three thousand

savage hunted, interchanged presents and professions of friendship with him; heard with subdued reluctance his pious exposition of Genesis, with which the Indian king was so far edified as to declare, that "he was like Adam in one thing, for he never had but one wife at once;" and, after having passed some days in amicable trips and laying plans for gaining wealth, closed the drama by attempting to inveigle Pory into an ambuscade, by which he might peradventure get back all the presents he had given Pory, and whatever remained of Pory's that had not been given him. Without noticing the treachery of this royal miscreant, Pory adopted the wise policy of courteously allowing him and his brother to quit the vessel unharmed.

The laughing King of Accomac, Kiptopeke, to whom Pory then returned, informed him, that Namenacus "would also have allured himself into his country, under color of trade, to cut his throat." He describes the Indians at Accomac as singularly civil and tractable, free from many of the evil practices of other tribes, scrupulous, in marriages, to observe a large distance, as well as in affinity as consanguinity, and more careful than any of their western brethren to provide corn enough to serve them all the year and to spare. Beverley (p. 38) confirms this statement in part.

When Pory returned to James City, late in the following November, he found the government in the hands of Sir Francis Wyatt, and his own office filled by Christopher Davison. About three months later, in February, 1622, he went overland to the Chowan River. Smith briefly mentions, that he found the country pleasant and fertile, yielding two harvests in a year, and abounding in silk grass. From other sources, we learn, that of this grass the Indians made thread and strings, and "Queen Elizabeth had a substantial and rich grograine made and presented to her;" also, that Pory was told by the King of the Chawonacks, that, within ten days' journey westward, the natives gathered out of a river sand, which, being washed in a sieve, and melted, became like copper, but much softer. The king offered to send some of his people to guide him to the place. Pory, however, not having so many Englishmen as he wished, thought best to return to Sir George Yeardley for more. But the massacre, on the 22d of the next month, by which Sir George himself lost twenty-six men, put an end to the enterprise. (Perfect Description of Virginia, § 57; Williams's Virginia Truly Valued, p. 17.)

Chalmers, in his "Political Annals" (p. 208), says that Pory, in 1622, in a voyage of discovery in Chesapeake Bay, found a hundred English happily settled on its borders, animated with the hope of a good trade in furs. Pory, however, in this relation of his voyages as above, a year later, gives no intimation of any previous voyage, or of any such settlement; nor has the site of this alleged settlement ever been found. (Campbell's Va. p. 188.) The whole English population on the eastern shore, in 1621, including Savage's four, who were probably the governor's men; Pory's ten; and, lastly, those on Captain Wilcock's plantation, — could hardly have amounted to forty persons. Chalmers was evidently misled by Purchas, whom he cites, and who inserted Pory's relation and the cited passage, almost in Chalmers's words, in his fourth volume (p. 1784), certainly before February, 1623; for he calls the period of Pory's visit to the Chowan region February last, — that is, in 1622. Purchas, through an accidental inadvertency, almost unavoidable in so gigantic a compilation, mistook the "100 Easterlings" who had witnessed the sore disgrace inflicted by Thomas Savage on Opecancanough's son and his thirteen Pamunkey attendants for so many English settlers. Had they been English, the Pamunkeys would have continued to visit the Accomacs, — for little would their king have cared for the derision of the strangers; but to be put to shame under the eyes of a neighboring tribe of his own race and language, who would be sure to keep alive the memory of his dishonor as an indelible tradition, must have given his pride the deepest mortification. (Smith's Virginia, p. 142.)

pounde to furnishe himselfe for his voiage. And once within seven yeares, I am persuaded (*absit invidia verbo*) that the Governors place here may be as profitable as

In the summer of 1622, Pory took passage for England in the "Discovery," commanded by Captain Jones, who is supposed to have been previously master of the "Mayflower." (Young's Chron. p. 298.) The "Discovery" was employed by a number of merchants to discover all the harbors between Virginia and Plymouth and the shoals of Cape Cod, and also to trade along the coasts, where they could. In the course of these explorations, the vessel touched at the then infant settlement at Plymouth, and, by a timely supply of provisions, relieved the famishing colonists; and enabled them, by a sale of beads and knives, to trade with the Indians for corn, which they sorely needed. Bradford laments the previous famine, and not less the extortionate price of the knives and beads. Winslow dwells more on the seasonable relief of the starving community. (Good Newes.)

Bradford and Pory evidently entertained sentiments of sincere friendship and respect for each other. The Governor, in his Journal, gives part of a letter received from Pory dated 28th August, 1622, in which the latter praises the Puritan fathers and their theological writings, and subscribes himself the Governor's unfeigned and firm friend. Bradford, in turn, welcomes Pory's commendations as an honor to his compeers; and gratefully remarks, that "this gentleman, after his return, did this poor plantation much credit amongst those of no mean rank." (Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th ser., III., v. p. 128.)

Pory left Plymouth soon after the date of his letter. Whether he continued his explorations any farther is not known. His return, however, was not to be speedy. A letter of Chamberlain's to Sir Dudley Carleton, written just eleven months after Pory's letter to Bradford, says, "Our old acquaintance, Mr. Pory, is in poor case, and in prison at the Terceiras, whither he was driven, by contrary winds, from the north-east of Virginia, where he had been upon some discovery; and upon his arrival was arraigned, and in danger to be hanged for a pirate." (Birch, II. James, p. 473.)

There could have been little difficulty, but, more probably, not a little delay, in satisfying the Portuguese authorities of his innocence. The documents taken with him would show both his recent official position and the legitimate character of the voyage. But Portugal had, for more than forty years, been a mere appendage of Spain; and, under the ministry of Olivares, or of his tyrannical Portuguese deputy, Vasconcelles, little mercy would have been shown to a Protestant Englishman charged with designs against the Spanish possessions in America (akin to those for which, five years before, Spain, with shameful success, demanded the head of Raleigh), had it not fortunately so happened, that, at this period and for several months after, for reasons connected with the projected marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta, sister of Philip the Fourth, the policy of Spain toward England was of the most amicable character. No time, we may be sure, was lost in effecting Pory's release, and speedy return to England.

He returned to find the Company suffering from violent internal dissensions, as well as from fiscal exactions, and the machinations of the Spanish ambassador, countenanced by the King, which menaced its existence.

Pory was under very slight obligations to the party which then ruled the Company. In the second year of his secretaryship, they had abolished the fees by which his office was supported. The compensation substituted for them was five hundred acres of land and twenty tenants, for him and his successors. To his successors, it was afterwards increased by one-fourth; but all he obtained of it was the use of the land and of half his tenants for half a year. (Smith's Virginia, p. 141.)

Nor was this the only injury received at their hands. During his absence, a declaration in the name of the Council, dated the 7th of May, 1623, was issued to the public, in which several charges were made against him for acts alleged to have been done by him as an instrument of the Earl of Warwick. This declaration was a summary of the various

the lord Deputies of Irland. All this notwithstanding, I may say of myselfe, that when I was the last yeare with your lordship at Middleborough, *si mens non lava fuisset*,

accusations which, at the Company meetings, had been, from time to time, unsparingly vented against the Earl by his bitter enemy, Lord Cavendish, the pupil of Hobbs, and, two years later, Earl of Devonshire. Lord Cavendish was chairman of the committee in which the "Declaration" was framed, and, no doubt, the author of it; although it probably was revised, and most likely by Nicholas Ferrar, whose candor would lead him to avoid all representations of things as absolutely true when they rested on no better foundation than surmise or presumption. On the 17th of the preceding month, at a board of the Privy Council, called for the purpose of considering and providing some remedy for the existing differences in the Company, after hearing Lord Cavendish, it was ordered, with the consent of both the contending parties, that a royal commission should issue for the examination of all the affairs of the company, from the beginning of Sir Thomas Smith's administration; and a letter of Lord Middlesex to Secretary Conway states, that the commission so agreed upon was accordingly awarded to Sir William Jones, Judge of the Common Pleas, and six other knights, as early as the 18th of April, seventeen days before the "Declaration" was issued. This commission, in the close of the "Declaration," is dwelt upon in a spirit of unfairness and perversion, which more or less pervades the whole document. It is there boldly asserted, that, "under pretence of justifying . . . their manifold untruths, they (Earl Warwick, &c.) sued out a commission to examine," &c.; and that, the companies earnestly pressing them to take out their commission, they delayed the same, knowing, in their guilty consciences, that they were not able to incriminate the ruling party, or excuse themselves. As the commission was then actually passing through the ordinary official forms, and was finally issued under the Great Seal on the 9th of May, two days only after these imputations of guilty neglect, &c., were made, we have ample proof of the injustice of the imputations, and of their inconsistency with recorded facts. (State-Paper Office, Am. & W. Ind.) (I. Burke, App. p. 323.)

The first charge in the "Declaration" against Pory, a mere presumption, has also a semblance of support from the remark there inserted, that "he was recommended by the Earl of Warwick to Sir Thomas Smith, then treasurer, for the secretary's place." In the following part of the same paragraph, the accuracy of this statement is virtually disproved by a second, to the effect, that the Earl, being dissatisfied with the "proceedings against Captain Argall," sought, and finally accomplished, the removal of Sir Thomas from the place of treasurer.

Now the Earl did very warmly, in open court, oppose these proceedings from the beginning, when the instructions of the 23d of August, 1618, were issued by the Treasurer and Council, directing Lord De la Warre to seize Argall's effects, and send him back to England. But it is hardly within the bounds of probability, either that the Earl would condescend to solicit the vote of a person with whom he was so much offended, or that Sir Thomas would tamely yield to the request of one, who, at the time, was striving to dishonor and displace him. Under such circumstances, there could be little or no concert, or even intercourse, between them; and the "recommendation" would signify nothing more than that this Earl, at the time of the election, expressed to the chairman an opinion in favor of Pory as a candidate.

Pory, on his part, no doubt, canvassed all the members of the Company within his reach, and, among them, the Earl and Sir Thomas Smith. He probably could have carried the election without their aid; for neither of them had influence sufficient to control the votes of the Company. The Earl had recently been foiled in his opposition to the proceedings against Argall, and evidently could do little to effect either the election of Pory or the removal of Sir Thomas Smith: nor, at any time, did the number of those who generally voted with him exceed twenty-six (Stith, p. 187); and they, with the exception of a few family connections and personal friends were those who did not so much belong

I might have gone to the Hagh with you, and founde my-selfe there nowe in far better company, which indeed is the soule of this life, and might have bene deeply in-

to his ranks as they were driven into them by the hostility of the dominant party. The influence of Sir Thomas Smith, likewise, was so nearly extinct as to render his continuance in office a burden, and cause his voluntary resignation at the Easter Court, held on the 28th of April, 1619. His intention to resign had most probably been announced at the preceding Hilary Court; for the news that Sir Edwin Sandys had been chosen treasurer in his room, having been brought to Jamestown by Sir George Yeardley ten days before Sir Edwin was actually elected, could only mean, that the election of Sir Edwin was looked upon as certain, and Sir Thomas Smith's determination to retire equally so. (Smith's Va. p. 126.) Under such circumstances, it would have been useless for the Earl "to pursue with eagerness" a purpose which was sure to be effected with the concurrence of Sir Thomas himself.

Hence we may be allowed to doubt the entire accuracy of the statement in the "Declaration" respecting the hostile conduct of the Earl in this affair. We apprehend that his vigorous resistance to the "proceedings" against Argall was misconstrued by the author of that document as evincing personal enmity towards Sir Thomas Smith. The Earl must have known, that Sir Thomas, although ever so reluctant, was obliged to yield to the will of the majority in the Council, and to give his official sanction to their acts. Nor could he expect that any successor would be more favorable to Argall than Argall's "friend and kinsman," the actual incumbent. Under such circumstances, it would be natural that he should wish to quit his office.

Again: if the Earl was so deeply offended as to "pursue with eagerness the displacing of Sir Thomas Smith," why, it may be asked, did he allow him, a week after he was displaced, to be confirmed as treasurer of the Bermuda Company, and so to remain for several years? (Birch, II. James, p. 161.) The Earl's pecuniary interests and his personal influence were comparatively greater in the Bermuda than in the Virginia Company.

It is also reasonable to presume, that the marriage of Sir Thomas Smith's only son to Isabella Rich, sister of the Earl, which took place four months before Sir Thomas quitted the treasury of the Virginia Company, would tend to allay any animosity, if it really existed, so far, at least, as to restrain the Earl from making that unseemly exhibition of family differences which the statement in the "Declaration" implies. There is no proof extant, that they ever differed in sentiment or measures, prior to the affair of Argall; and it is historically certain that they afterwards constantly acted together. (Birch, II. James, p. 122, 184.)

The premises, we conceive, warrant the inference, that the Earl was more probably the ally than the opponent of Sir Thomas Smith in regard to the retirement of the latter from office; and, likewise, that he did not obtain the place of secretary for Pory, as asserted by Stith (p. 157) and by Campbell (p. 139), or render him any service or favor for which he would be likely to barter away his personal independence, and become a subservient "instrument" and "follower" of his lordship.

It may be proper to mention here, that, at the period of these transactions, his lordship was not Earl of Warwick, but Lord Rich. The first earl, his father, died in the summer of 1619. Stith (p. 153) erroneously supposes the son to have been created Earl of Warwick.

With these comments on the principal circumstance brought to support the first charge in the "Declaration" against Pory, we now proceed to consider the charge itself, which, in substance, is, that, to enable Argall, by a pinnace despatched from Plymouth, to quit Virginia before the governor, Sir George Yeardley, should arrive there to arrest and try him, "he persuaded the governor to spend much time unnecessarily on the English coast." No proof is adduced, nor any specific detail given. This persuading is imputed in general terms, not directly and plainly, as a fact, but cautiously, by insinuation, as

grafted into your lordship's service, which since I have a thousand times affected in vaine. And therefore seeing I have missed that singular happines, I must for what

"vehemently to be presumed," — an equivocal mode of expression, calculated to shelter the accuser from disgrace, if the falsity of the insinuation should be detected, and, at the same time, to fulfil its purpose of leading others to believe a calumny which the author himself might know to be the creation of his own fancy. The writer of the "Declaration" would probably not have ventured even so far, had Sir George Yeardley been in London, or been called upon, as he might and ought to have been, to declare the truth; or had John Pory, after his four years' absence, been expected ever to re-appear there to defend himself.

Sir George Yeardley was a shrewd, practical man. In his previous military service abroad, and in his later passages across the Atlantic, he had had more nautical experience than Pory. It is, therefore, hardly credible, that he should forego the exercise of his own judgment, as well as that of the master, as to the control of the ship, and give it up to the blind guidance of a comparative novice.

If, as most likely at that season of the year, detentions actually occurred in the passage down channel, they were, in the entire absence of proof to the contrary, to be considered as owing to natural causes, and to be no otherwise connected with Pory than that they subsequently furnished the enemies of the Earl of Warwick with a slender pretext for ascribing them to him, in order to make it appear that was one of the "instruments" of the Earl, and acting by his direction.

Sir George Yeardley was chosen Governor of Virginia at the Quarter Court, held on the last Wednesday but one in Hilary Term, which in that year, 1619, fell on the first of February. The vessel in which he was to embark at London, with his retinue of attendants and servants, as well as agricultural and other laborers, and the various personal, household, and agricultural articles in which his £3,000, mentioned by Pory, was to be invested, could hardly be got ready to depart within the following week. The friends of Argall, on the other hand, who had personal knowledge of the designs and measures in contemplation against him, could always have had the "Elinor" in readiness, and have despatched her from Plymouth within two days after the election. But there was no necessity for haste. In those days, when the speed of vessels depended on the wind, and steam as a motive-power was unknown, it was affirmed by John Smith (Va. p. 221), that "it is neere as much trouble, but more danger, to sail from London to Plymouth than from Plymouth to New England, so that half the voyage would be saved" (that is, by starting from Plymouth instead of London). All that was requisite to enable the "Elinor" to outstrip Sir George Yeardley's vessel might be easily accomplished after the departure of the latter from London. At the slowest rate of posting prescribed at that period, five miles the hour, it would take only forty-three hours for orders from London to reach the "Elinor;" and she might begin Smith's half-voyage two days only after the governor's vessel had entered upon the doubly longer whole voyage.

Again: the "Elinor" would be almost sure to take the short, more northerly course, always taken by Argall, while the rival vessel, it is morally certain, took the more circuitous one, "tracing it through the Torrid Zoan;" for the calenture with which, Pory tells us above, he was afflicted some four or five months, is generated at sea in hot climates only. The difference in time of the two routes from Plymouth would be a fortnight or more; and the "Elinor" could easily reach her port of destination a month earlier than the governor's vessel, if started at the earliest moment possible.

Under such circumstances, any expedient for increasing the great advantage of the "Elinor," by retarding the other vessel, would be so manifestly useless and uncalled for as not to be adopted by any person of common sense.

The second charge against Pory in the "Declaration" is, that he sent "underhand," to the Earl of Warwick, copies of the "examinations" taken in Virginia respecting Argall's conduct; and he is there called a "sworn officer," to create a belief that he had violated his official oath. Stith, in his deep reverence for all that is contained in the writings and

remaines, depende upon Gods providence, who my hope is, wilbe so merciful towards me, as once more before I dye, to vouchsafe me the sight of your countenance,

records of the dominant party, repeats this statement with the virulence which usually accompanies his remarks concerning Pory. He is copied by Belknap (Am. Biog. II. p. 72), and Belknap in turn by Campbell (p. 149), both of whom add that Pory was bribed by the Earl of Warwick. Upon what authority these respected historians make this assertion, we have sought in vain to discover.

The Earl of Warwick, as one of the Council, was entitled to a knowledge of the "examinations." It was also important to him, both in point of character and personal interest, that Argall should have a fair and impartial trial. On the other hand, it was somewhat "underhand," and certainly not conducive to the attainment of impartial justice, that the treasurer and Council, in taking evidence, should exclude the defendant from all opportunity of knowing or rebutting it. It has the aspect of a sinister inquisitorial proceeding, a stratagem to procure a condemnation by surprise and on *ex parte* evidence. There were no cabinet, political, or corporate secrets involved in the controversy; and the disclosure, therefore, on the part of the secretary, was no more a breach of trust than it would be in a magistrate, who should furnish either party in a civil suit with the contents of an affidavit made before him, or in the clerk of a council who should inform a member of the doings of his colleagues in his absence. There was obviously nothing criminal, either in furnishing the Earl with the "examinations," or in receiving, if it really happened, a compensation for the labor. Nor, consequently, was there any reason for concealing these acts, or much opportunity for effecting such concealment. The habits of life in an infant colony rarely admit of the seclusion and freedom from interruption, which, in more settled communities, make it easy to keep the subject of a prolonged labor from the knowledge of others.

Had Pory been guilty of violating his official oath, is it in the least degree probable that the treasurer and Council, who had both the power and inclination to bring any "instrument" of the Earl's to condign punishment, would have hesitated to displace him? Why also, in the angry debates of the Company, was not the Earl at the time accused of bribery, and denounced as an accessory and the instigator of Pory's alleged transgressions? And, more than all, why does the "Declaration" itself not even allude to bribery?

Besides, if the "Declaration" correctly indicates the order in which events succeeded each other, Pory's letter above must have been written two or three months after the correspondence in question was stopped; and yet that letter does not exhibit a shadow of the alienation of feeling between Sir George Yeardley and his secretary, which would have been inevitable had the imputations in the "Declaration" been literally true.

On the contrary, Pory expresses a cordial confidence in the Governor's military skill, vigilance, and plans for the defence of the colony; respect for his great personal worth; acknowledges that to him he was indebted for all the official emolument he had received; and, by his requesting Sir Dudley Carleton to direct letters and pamphlets for him to the care of the Governor's brother, Ralfe, "to be sent with the Governor's things," proves that he was on friendly and familiar terms with the Governor himself.

The Governor's confidence in Pory likewise appears to have continued unabated. Otherwise, he would not have allowed Pory to occupy the speaker's chair in the General Assembly, or to act as his agent and representative in the expeditions to the Chesapeake and Accomack, and, even after the official term of both had expired, to be jointly concerned in exploring the natural resources of the Chowan region.

The circumstances here brought to notice naturally lead to the conclusion, that the affair, stripped of all false coloring, was simply that Pory, when preparing for the Earl of Warwick copies of the "examinations," which the Earl had a right to receive, was required by the Governor not to forward them, and of course complied with the directions of his superior.

Nothing more, probably, would have been heard of the matter, had not the Earl him-

wherein, I speak unfainedly, I shall enioye as much hap-pines as in any other thing I can imagine in this worlde. At my first coming hither the solitary uncouthnes of this

self, with the indignation of an injured man, "loudly declared his displeasure" (Stith, p. 193) against Sir George Yeardley for his interference. He evidently considered his own conduct to have been perfectly fair, honest, and requiring no disguise nor apology, and the interference of Sir George Yeardley as an arbitrary violation of his rights.

The proofs drawn from Pory's letter, that the mutual esteem and friendship previously subsisting between the Governor and himself remained unimpaired after the affair of the correspondence was disposed of, will be strengthened by showing somewhat more explicitly that the correspondence was stopped two or three months before that letter was written.

The language of the "Declaration" is, that "he" (Pory), "being stopped in that course" (the correspondence), "*a new way was taken* so to daunt Sir George Yeardley as might clean discourage him from proceeding in the examinations: for, the said Earl having published great displeasure against the said Sir George Yeardley for intercepting the packet, wherein the copies of the said examinations were sent him, and threatening a sharp revenge, it was *soon after* rumored by some of the Earl's followers, even to Opechancanough himself, that the Earl would shortly come over in person to be their governor, that Captain Argall would be his pilot, and then he would call Sir George Yeardley into like question and examination for his own government; which rumor, confirmed by letters from hence, is thought to have been a principal cause of that discouragement and dejection in Sir G. Yeardley, which ended in a long sickness, and caused a general neglect in following the public business, which otherwise might have proceeded to the effect here intended."

The only person known to have been accused of taking any part in this "new way," or of making any communication whatever bearing on the subject to Opechancanough, was Henry Spilman, one of the best, most inoffensive, patriotic, and useful men in the colony. He was arraigned before the General Assembly, on the information of Robert Poole; tried, convicted, and sentenced on the 4th of August, 1619, nearly two months before the letter of Pory was written. The letter itself may, therefore, justly be cited as decisive proof of the subsequent harmonious state of feeling between the Governor and his secretary; and, consequently, that the conduct of the latter did not merit the base character given to it in the "Declaration."

The "Declaration" is also at fault in representing this solitary instance as a communication made to Opechancanough, by a "follower" of the Earl's, or in aid of any of his alleged designs. It originated in Poole's own perfidious treatment of the Potomacs, among whom Spilman, by the interposition of Pocahontas, had lived from his boyhood, in 1609, when she rescued him from the Powhatans, who massacred all but one of his companions in Sicklemore's party. (Smith's Va. p. 105.)

In the month of August, 1619, Japazaw, king of the Potomacs, came to Jamestown to urge that two ships should be sent to trade for his unusually abundant crop of corn; but no one ventured to comply with his invitation. "By the treachery of one Poole, in a manner turned heathen, we," says John Rolfe, "were very jealous the salvages would surprise us." We have no details of this act of treachery towards the Potomacs; but it is evident, that, in their view, it was such as, if not atoned for, was to be revenged upon the whole colony. This was also the opinion of the colonists; otherwise, they would have had no cause for apprehending the invitation of the savage king to be a mere lure for the capture of the ships and crews. In the following autumn, Captain Ward found this opinion to be correct. (Smith's Va. p. 127.)

Spilman, as the advocate of his friends the Potomacs, sought redress for the injury done them at the hands of Poole and Opechancanough, who were obviously confederates in the treachery. They refusing all reparation, he probably then declared his intention to complain to the Governor; and they in turn made such representations as satisfied him

place, compared with those partes of Christendome or Turkey where I had bene; and likewise my being sequestred from all occurrents and passages which are so rife

that an appeal to Sir George Yeardley would be wholly ineffectual. The only remaining argument which he could use with a hope of effect, would be such as was afterwards admitted by him at his trial, namely, that "a greater man than Sir George Yeardley would soon come over as governor;" intimating that then this new governor would not sustain them in their evil deeds, but compel them to do justice to the injured Potomacs. It was almost a matter of course, that the colonists should expect the place of Lord De la Warre as governor-general for life, to be filled, at no distant period, by some nobleman of equal rank; and should also consider Sir George Yeardley, who had neither high rank nor commanding personal qualities, as a kind of deputy-governor, or *locum tenens*, like most of the former acting-governors.

Spilman's remark to Opechancanough merely, but rightly, denied the justice and finality of the decision ascribed by Poole and him to the Governor. It did not "undermine or depreciate his authority" in any criminal sense, as the Governor maintained and persuaded the General Assembly, who convicted him. Had the Governor, like his fearless predecessor, John Smith, seized Opechancanough by the hair of his head to make him restore his ill-gotten gains to the Potomacs, he would have won more respect from the shrewd savage, than by siding with the latter against those less warlike friends of the colony, at the expense of justice and good policy.

Nor could the language of Spilman have been uttered at the instigation of the Earl of Warwick, or in prosecution of any "new way" of inflicting a "sharp revenge" upon Sir George Yeardley. The fastest ship of those days could not have carried out information of the stoppage of the Earl's letters, and brought back his alleged "new plan," in time to reach Spilman, even if she had been despatched for London on the day of Sir George Yeardley's arrival at Jamestown, fifteen weeks before Spilman's trial.

Our view of the inaccuracy of the "Declaration" is strikingly confirmed by the fact, that the specification of the charges against Spilman, in the record of the Assembly's proceedings, contains nothing whatever respecting the Earl of Warwick, or his "followers," or the alleged rumors. Neither is Argall mentioned.

These particulars, not embraced in the record of Poole's testimony in court, and therefore, it may be presumed, forming no part of it, may, nevertheless, have been contained in his "examination" taken *ex parte* out of court, preparatory to the trial, which, the record says, "the Governor sent into England by the 'Prosperous;'" and probably, was the source from which the statements in the passage above, extracted from the "Declaration," were drawn. Poole was artful enough to say those things which would best please his friend the Governor; and the Governor well knew what would best please his friends and patrons, the Treasurer and his party in the Company. Poole would also be sure to endeavor to protect himself; and, to put Spilman in the wrong, would speak more freely than if the latter were present. But, as he knew little of England or her noblemen, the name of Lord Rich or the Earl of Warwick, if found in the examination sent to England, would be proof that part of his evidence consisted, not of what he knew or had seen and heard, but of what had been suggested by others.

Poole was not an Englishman, but one of the Poles sent over in the second supply, in 1608, to make pitch, tar, potash, &c. In the account, in Smith, of Governor Yeardley's conflict, in 1616, with the Chickahominies, in which he took prisoner one of the two Indian elders taken, he is called "Robert a Polonian." His original surname, possibly one of the kind unpronounceable by English organs, and made up, as it were, of letters thrown together at random, was discarded for the more convenient name of Poole, in token of his Polish origin.

The Assembly, it appears from the record, placed very little, if any, reliance upon Poole's testimony. Its value may be estimated from the fact, that five years later, on the

there, did not a little vex me. And yet in these five moneths of my continuance here, there have come at one time or another eleven saile of ships into this river; but

1st of November, 1624, when brought forward, with Edward Grindon, in behalf of his friend Sir George Yeardley, in court he declared on oath what was doubly false, that Sir George did not, and that John Smith did, teach the Indians the use of fire-arms (Stith, p. 412).

It is extraordinary, that, on their evidence, Stith should not only question the veracity of Smith, but entirely set aside the declaration of four such men of established character as Captain Nathaniel Powell, who, on the arrival of Sir George in 1619, was acting Governor, and, immediately after, was appointed by himself one of his Council; William Cantrill, an ancient planter and original patentee under the Charter of 1609; Sergeant Booth; and Edward Gurganey, a fellow-passenger with Cantrill in the second supply, an ancient planter, and member of the Assembly in 1619.

They state (Smith's Va. p. 121), that Captain Yeardley, when Governor in 1616, kept "a savage or two so well trained up to their pieces, that they were as expert as any English; and one he kept purposely to kill him fowl. . . . Others had savages in like manner. . . . Thus we lived together as one people all the time that Captain Yeardley staid with us." Argall and Rolfe say, that, when Argall "arrived at Jamestown, he was kindly entertained by Captain Yeardley and his company in a martial order, whose right-hand file was led by an Indian." (Id. p. 123.)

Poole's declaration on oath, that Smith had furnished arms to the Indians, is refuted not only by the uniform tenor of his language on the subject, but by his conduct and invariable policy. To Powhatan, who entreated him to be as generous to him as Captain Newport had been in supplying him with arms, his answer was, "I have told you long ago, that I had no arms to spare." (Id. pp. 54, 75.)

When the Dutchman of the party sent to build a house for Powhatan, preferring the idleness and comparative plenty of savage life, chose to remain with Powhatan, gave away their guns and ammunition, taught the savages how to use them, and obtained others by the fraud and treachery of confederates, Smith employed all available methods to recover both the arms and the Dutchmen; and finally, as a last resort, ordered Jeffrey, Abbott, and Richard Wyffin to put the fugitives to death. (Id. pp. 74, 78, 82, 84, 88, 94.)

Smith, in his comments on the instructions, given in 1621, near the close of Sir George Yeardley's official term, to his successor, Sir Francis Wyat, says, "It has oft amazed me to understand how strangely the salvages hath been taught the use of our armes, and imploied in hunting and fowling with our fowling-peeeces." (Id. p. 149.) This, taken together with the concurrent accounts of the period immediately preceding the massacre in the following year, shows that Yeardley continued the same system of familiar intercourse with the Indians as he had encouraged when Deputy-Governor. (Stith, 210-12.)

In Smith's answer to the third of the Commissioners' seven questions, he says, "In my time, Captain Newport furnished them with swords by truck, and many fugitives did the like, and some peeeces they got accidentally, yet I got most of them again, and it was death to him that should show a salvage the use of a peece. Since, I understand, they became so good shot, they were imploied for Fowlers and Huntsmen by the English." (Smith, p. 165.) *

The evidence here drawn from Smith's History, depending not merely upon his own assertion, but confirmed, in substance, by contemporaneous relations of not less than a dozen eye-witnesses and fellow-colonists, far outweighs the testimony of Poole and Grindon. Smith's "Virginia" was published in 1624, the same year in which that testimony was given. Had it happened to reach the hands of Sir George Yeardley in time, he would hardly have ventured to bring upon the stand two witnesses to fix the guilt of his own misconduct upon his innocent predecessor.

Stith (p. 142) bestows upon Poole and his fellow-witness the appellation of "gentlemen

frighted more with ignorance, then with any other merchandize. At length being hardned to this custome of abstinence from curiosity, I am resolved wholly to minde

& ancient planters & inhabitants." They, no doubt, were early inhabitants; and Grindon was so far a planter as to own a hundred and fifty acres of land in the corporation of Henrico. Poole was a mere Indian trader and interpreter. (I. Burke, p. 333.)

Grindon's name is found among those of the members subscribed to the General Assembly's letter, of the 29th February, 1624, to the Privy Council; but it does not appear on any other public document within our knowledge. He was not a Burgess or member of the Assembly; and therefore his signature to the letter in question was entirely out of order. Was this irregularity, this counterfeit presentment of a legislative character, designed to serve the purpose of a certificate of the respectability of the two witnesses, brought into court, eight months after, to whitewash Sir George Yeardley, and blacken John Smith? This artifice could benefit no one but Sir George; and if he, a counsellor, sitting as judge, as it were, in his own cause, could abet the fabrication, or silently permit the utterance, of evidence which he knew to be false, it can hardly be denied that he would be equally capable of resorting to any finesse that promised him the favor and good opinion of the new lords of the ascendant,—the Privy Council. The next year, 1625, he had the opportunity in London, as agent for the colony, to make such use or commendation of Poole and Grindon's affidavits as he chose; and as, on the 4th of March in the next year, he was, by royal commission, re-appointed Governor of the colony, it may be presumed that the affidavits were made to contribute to his success. (I. Hazard, p. 230.)

It is, however, just to say, that his unfortunate indulgence of unrestrained intercourse with the Indians was in part a compliance with the orders of the Treasurer and Council. His teaching them the use of fire-arms was an act of disobedience; but his fault was not likely, after the massacre, to be repeated, and was also in some measure atoned for by his subsequent services in the field against the savages.

The labors—making tar, pitch, &c.—for which Poole was specially engaged as a servant of the Company, proclaim his original condition in Poland to have been that of a peasant, and, of course, the serf and slave of some feudal lord, whose power over him was absolute; who could sell him at pleasure, or even take his life, if it suited his caprice to risk the not very certain infliction of a slight pecuniary penalty of ten French crowns, or about six dollars. There is no reason for supposing Poole to have been exempt from the vices and imperfections incident to his class in the 17th century,—the most degraded, ignorant, unprincipled, and miserable in Europe,—or, consequently, to doubt his abject subservency to those in authority over him, and his habitual proneness to intemperance, theft, and falsehood. His fondness for living with the savages would lead him to adopt their notions and habits, their inhumanity and spirit of revenge, as well as their daring and hardihood. That such was the case, is manifest not only from Rolfe's description of him, as "in a manner turned heathen," but from his own acts. (I. Coxe, *Travels*, p. 193, 3d ed.; *State of Poland*, p. 87, ed. 1773; I. Parthenay's, *Augustus II.*, p. 3; Knox Coll. *Travels*, iv. p. 164–166; Univ. Hist. xlviii. p. 103–123; Salvandy, i. p. 21, 23, 80.)

The instance mentioned above is not the only act of treachery toward the Potomacs, recorded of Poole. The atrocious murder of thirty or forty of their men, women, and children by Captain Madison, in the summer of 1622, may be traced to the craft and relentless hatred of this demi-savage.

Madison, timorous, rash, inexperienced in Indian warfare, ignorant of the habits and language of the Indians, was therefore mainly dependent on the advice and guidance of his interpreter, Poole. The latter was regarded by the Potomacs as an enemy, for the injury he had done them three years before. He, in turn, liked them no better, and was naturally anxious to secure himself from their vengeance, and, most probably, to anticipate it by some new treachery. The fort, which had recently afforded

my busines here, and nexte after my penne, to have some good book alwayes in store, being in solitude the best and choicest company. Besides among these Christall rivers,

ample protection for Captain Crashaw with one man, was now found too insecure for Captain Madison with thirty-six men; and, accordingly, a strong house was built within it, which, among its advantages, provided for Poole's better safety, and displeased his enemies the Potomacs, who, it was said, "were not so sociable as before."

Poole's next step was to persuade Captain Madison that the Potomac king, Japazaw, was secretly plotting with Opechancanough for the surprise and massacre of himself and his party. He alleged that the plot had been disclosed to him by an exiled king, then a guest with the Potomac chief, who, having "urged him to swear by his God never to reveal what he would tell him," had been promised by Poole "that he would not;" and, after he had given all the details of the plot, added that, "of all this there is no one acquainted but the king and the great conjurer." (Smith's Va. pp. 153, 154, 156; Stith, pp. 238, 239.)

The most reasonable estimate of this story of Poole's is, that, if true, it ought to be supported by better evidence than that of a person who had needlessly violated a solemn pledge of secrecy. We say needlessly, for, in any emergency, the fort afforded complete security against any attack; and the vigilance of Captain Madison could have been excited as effectually by barely suggesting its indispensable importance, as by telling him of the plot in question.

But the story has all the aspect of a fabrication. If the plot were real, neither Japazaw nor his great conjurer would have disclosed it to the exiled king, the associate and declared friend of their enemy Poole, nor could the king have gained a knowledge of it from any other source. No reliance can be placed upon the asserted disaffection of this exiled king to Japazaw. He must have seen, that, surrounded as the latter was by allies of Opechancanough, and other savage foes, it was impossible for him to undertake the recovery of his guest's kingdom. All attendant and earlier circumstances tend to disprove the existence of any plot against the English, in which Japazaw was concerned. If he had entertained secret hostile intentions, he would not have aided or even suffered Captain Crashaw to construct his fort; he would have removed the women and children; he would not have returned to Opechancanough the two baskets of beads, sent to bribe him into an alliance against the English; nor would he have threatened eternal warfare against that savage chief, if his own "four great men" should not be safely returned to him, nor even had a doubt of their safety. (Smith's Va. p. 156.)

Had Captain Madison, before his inhuman butchery of the Potomac villagers, taken but ordinary precaution to investigate the matter, he might have learned, as he did after that act of barbarity, that the charge of treason was, as Japazaw strenuously protested, to use his own words, "some plot of them that told it, only to kill me for being your friend." But Poole, for his own safety, by pretending that he was laid under solemn obligations of secrecy by the exiled king, had taken care to preclude, as far as he could, all investigation of the credibility and authorship of his story. Had he actually received the story from the exiled king, he was not simple enough to believe it for a moment; but, having once broached it as a momentous truth, he naturally became anxiously eager for the speedy accomplishment of the hostile purpose for which it was designed, as well as to effect his own escape from a post in the midst of his mortal enemies before his falsehood should be detected. Hence the sudden seizure of Japazaw and his son; their confinement in the strong house, under the guard of Poole and others; the massacre of the village; and the flagrant breach of faith in detaining, and carrying to Jamestown, the king with his son, after Madison's own life had, by the king's interposition, been saved from the just resentment of his subjects.

By these acts and Captain Hamor's extortion of a ransom, the colony lost the friendship of the most important and last remaining of its Indian allies on the mainland of Virginia; an

& odoriferous woods I doe escape muche expense, envye, contempte, vanity, and vexation of minde. Yet good my lorde, have a little compassion upon me, and be pleased to

ally, who had served to counterbalance the power, and check the implacable hostility, of Opechancanough, and at the time would have furnished the starving colonists with ample supplies of corn, not to be hoped for from any other source. (Stith, pp. 237-239; Smith's Va. pp. 156, 158.)

Had Raleigh Crashaw remained at Potomack, his prudence and sagacity would have prevented this disaster. But, having received a letter from Mrs. Boyce, desiring him to procure the release of herself and nineteen other captives at Pamunkey, he went to Jamestown to induce the government to second the plan, devised by him, for opening a negotiation with Opechancanough for their redemption. But Opechancanough, having recently returned an insolent answer to the Governor's message on the subject, and also treated the king's picture with great dishonor and contempt, Crashaw's proposal was rejected, and he was sent to his own residence.

Although during the summer defensive excursions were made to Weanoke and Chickahominy respectively by Sir George Yeardley and Captain William Powell, the policy of the Government, at the period, was to defer offensive operations until after the Indians' corn was ripe. When the time came, Sir George Yeardley, with three hundred men, having first taken revenge of the savages at Nansemond, proceeded to Pamunkey, in the hope of obtaining the twenty prisoners. On his arrival, the Indians, to gain time for effecting a retreat with their goods, corn, and non-combatants, amused him with idle promises and excuses for ten or twelve days, till they had gathered and removed the corn from all places on the river, except where the English were posted. All that Sir George then could do was to burn their houses, seize the corn in his vicinity, and return home. The soldiers, according to Smith (p. 158), were each allowed, for their pains, three bushels of corn, but were required to pay in advance ten shillings a bushel for freight and other charges. Stith (p. 242) denies the truth of this statement, because, as he says, "the Governor and Council's letters to the Company, an authority not to be contested, expressly say that Sir George, Yeardley freely employed his own shipping, &c., without any recompense or freight at all;" and he proceeds to denounce it as a misrepresentation of Smith's, to whom, as one of Argall's "faction, Sir George was a peculiar mark of hatred and calumny."

We fully admit all the authority and truth claimed for the Governor and Council's letters, and that Sir George did not make any charge whatever to the Company; but that does not by any means prove that he did not make any to the soldiers. We, then, are warranted in considering Smith's statement as unshaken. Besides, this act of Sir George Yeardley's is quite in unison with his conduct, in 1616, in the expedition against the Chickahominies, where, according to the joint report made to Smith (p. 120), he withheld from his soldiers the corn, taken for ransom, in violation of his promise.

In the same spirit he refused to make good to Sir Francis Wyat the number deficient (54) in the official complement of one hundred tenants, assigned him by the Company, and which he was, like other civil officers, bound by the terms of the grant to make good to his successor. He gave two excuses for this refusal: 1st, "That he was under no such contract when he came out as governor." To this it may be answered, that the Company authorities in England had legal power to regulate the compensation of their officers, and therefore it was of no consequence whether he was or was not previously under such a contract. But, having accepted the three thousand acres of land and the tenants, he virtually contracted to abide by the terms of the grant. His second excuse was, that "he had offered to surrender the tenants all back again into the Company's hands." Now, if he really wished or intended to make a definite and positive offer to return the tenants to the Company, it is quite strange that he did not follow it up by actually delivering them, as he had legal right and power to do, to the superintendents of the Company's own lands. His refraining from so doing is proof that the alleged offer was little more than idle talk. It

sende me, what pamphletts and relations of the Interim since I was with you, as your lordship shall thinke good, directing the same (if you please) in a boxe to Mr. Ralfe

can hardly be conceived that the Company would not have gladly welcomed any plain, positive offer of the kind, at a time when laborers, according to Pory, were the principal wealth of the colonies, and, as Smith tells us (pp. 165, 166), were worth fifty or sixty pounds a year, if employed in cultivating tobacco, and also, when sent over at an expense which did not exceed ten pounds at most, were sold by the Company and private persons for forty, fifty, and sixty pounds each.

That Sir George was not compelled to complete the number of tenants, was owing probably much less to his having justice on his side, than to the more generous and chivalric character of Sir Francis Wyat, and his unwillingness to descend to a controversy, concerning a mercenary affair, with a predecessor, who was his senior in years, and the leading member of his Council.

The extracts from the Council letters in Smith (p. 139), recounting the instructions given to Sir Francis Wyat and his Council contain very significant and descriptive allusions to his predecessors, to none of whom would they more aptly apply than to Sir George Yeardley; for he certainly, according to Pory's letter, went to Virginia very poor and became rich, and his administration did little to promote the prosperity of the Company or the security of the colony.

"It must now be substance," say the instructions, "that must sustain their (the Governor and Council's) proceedings and not letters, excuses, and promises; seeing *they* could get so much and such great estates for themselves, as to spend after the rate of one hundred pounds 2, 2," &c., "nay some 2,000 or 3,000 pounds yearly, *that* were not worth so many pence, when they went to Virginia" (and) "can scarce contain themselves, either in diet, apparell, gaming, and all manner of such superfluity, within a less compass, than our curious, costly, and consuming gallants here in England; which cannot possibly be there supported, but either, by oppressing the commonalty there, or deceiving the generality here (or both)." (Smith's Va. p. 139.)

Early in the following spring, 1623, Opechancanough sent by Chanco, who had warned the English of the intended massacre, a message that blood enough had been spilt on both sides, that many of his people had been starved, by the English taking away their corn, and burning their houses; and he promised to restore the prisoners, if allowed to plant at Pamunkey and their former seats. Sir Francis Wyat, as we learn from his letter of the 3d of April, 1623, to the Earl of Southampton, sent an answer by Chanco, that, if the prisoners were returned according to promise, "they should quietly set their corn." Within a week Chanco came back with Mrs. Boyce "the chief of the prisoners) apparelled like one of their queens, of which particular notice was desired to be taken." All the other prisoners were withheld "because Robert Poole, the interpreter, had given out threatening speeches," and the savage king "desired to have him called home, and an Englishman sent to tell them that they might plant their corn securely." Chanco, however, was sent back alone. He was allowed to take with him some beads sent to the prisoners by their friends, which the Governor, counting upon the covetousness of the Indians, thought would hasten their return.

But the actual result of Poole's ill-timed bravado was, that the nineteen prisoners, though subsequently recovered, were, to all appearance, left to linger out a wretched and precarious existence under their savage captors. (Sir F. Wyat's letter, — Bancroft MSS.)

Soon after Poole's return, the mischievous tendency of his and Madison's perfidious and savage treatment of the Potomacs was plainly demonstrated. Henry Spilman, who was then working out the fourth of the seven years' servitude as interpreter to the Governor, — to which, as well as to degradation from his rank of captain, he had been sentenced by Sir George Yeardley, on Poole's information, — had been sent in the "Tyger," with Mr. Penliffe's pinnace and twenty-six men, to trade for corn in the Potomac. With twenty-

Yeardley, Apothecary (brother to Sir George Yeardley our governour), dwelling at the signe of the Hartychoke in great Woodstreet, to be sente to me by the first, together

one of his men, he landed among the Pascoticons. The five men left aboard were attacked by the Indians in sixty canoes, and would have been killed, but, on the discharge at random of a cannon, the natives leapt overboard and swam ashore. Soon after, a noise was heard, and a man's head was thrown down the bank; whereupon the five men weighed anchor, and sailed homeward. Nothing was ever heard afterwards of Spilman and his men. They were, no doubt, surprised and slain. (Smith's Va. p. 161. George Sandys' letter, — State Papers.)

This loss, added to that of the nineteen prisoners left at the mercy of the Powhatans, and the thirty or forty Potomacs massacred, would make seventy or eighty human beings, whose lives or liberty, and perhaps, in most instances, both, had, within a year, been wickedly sacrificed by the instrumentality of Poole. When to this is added the loss occasioned by him of the friendship of the only efficient Indian tribe that remained well-disposed toward the colony, we have a striking instance of the great peril of entrusting public agencies of any description to the discretion of unscrupulous persons, of low instincts and uncultivated intellect.

The difference in the treatment which Poole and Spilman severally received gives no favorable impression of the justice or impartiality of the colonial government. It was exactly the reverse of their several merits. Poole, except in the capture of the Chickahominy elder, always appears as a demon of mischief, but invariably escapes unpunished, and even unquestioned. Spilman, on the contrary, at all times rendered good service to the colony; and yet, for one really harmless and innocently uttered expression, was degraded and condemned to a servitude which cost him his life.

The "Declaration" dwells with great emphasis on the capital sentence passed in Argall's time upon Captain Brewster. But Brewster was treated with more lenity than Spilman; while, in fact, his offence was positive and much greater. His life was spared; and he was sent home to England, with a full knowledge on the part of Argall that the commuted sentence, and all the proceedings, might be annulled, if the Company chose.

Argall was not furnished, as the "Declaration" insinuates, with new and "exorbitant power," that enabled him to bring Brewster to trial. The laws were the same as had been acted on from 1609, under Lord Delaware, Sir Thomas Gates, and Sir Thomas Dale, the same as had been formerly approved by them on the 12th June, 1610, and been constantly enforced by them, with a severity of which Argall's administration furnished no instance whatever. If it had, we may be sure that the "Declaration" would not have failed to seize upon and exhibit it in the most revolting colors, in order to support and aggravate its other charges against Argall and the Earl of Warwick.

Brewster's offence was, in substance, that he set his own authority above that of the Governor. He countermanded the Governor's commands, by ordering a servant of Lady De la Warre's to disobey the Governor, and to quit a work to which he had been set by the Governor. Under the 13th and 30th articles of the Code then in force (Lawes Divine, Morall, & Martiall), this was an offence punishable by death. The only legal question that could be raised was, whether the service was "for the dignity and advancement of the colony." The sentence, right or wrong, shows that it was so regarded by the Court, which had plenary jurisdiction of the case.

The authority to command the services of individuals was subsequently renewed and confirmed to the Governor by the General Assembly of 1619. Persons going up or down the river James were required to "touch at James City to know whether the Governor will [would] command any service." For neglect so to stop, the penalty was ten pounds; for refusing to obey such *command when given*, or for countermanding it, or ordering a person to disobey it, we apprehend the penalty would legally have been death, as in Argall's time.

with his brothers thinges. This pacquett I delivered to one Marmaduke Rayner, an Englishman, who goes intertained as Pilott in this Flemishe man of warre. If he come

But Spilman had neither withstood nor even intended to question the *actual* authority of the Governor. On the contrary, he submitted to it; but, at the same time, said that it would, within a year, be transferred to a greater man. The constructive criminality, strangely affixed to this assertion, and equally at war with fact and good sense, assumed that it brought the Governor into contempt with Opechancanough, and consequently the colony into greater danger of being attacked by the Indians. Now, by his utter refusal of the redress which Spilman had asked for, this savage king had plainly shown that he cared nothing for what Spilman had said; and this refusal, seconded by the Governor's virtually abetting Poole's "treachery," was obviously based on the policy and advantage of keeping up the resentment of the Potomacs in order to add force and numbers to the native enemies of the colony. The Governor in effect, but unwittingly, was drawn into co-operation with this implacable enemy of the colony in increasing the *identical* danger which he afterwards pointed out as the *probable* consequence of Spilman's words, and therefore making those words absolutely criminal. During the trial, Spilman's life was as much in peril as ever that of Brewster had been. At first, it was openly threatened by members; and Stith (p. 241) says, "they thought it a mercy to spare his life."

An air of importance had been given to the charge against Spilman, previous to the trial, by the Governor having sent to the Treasurer and Council Poole's examination, on which the prosecution was afterwards founded. To aid the views of his patrons,—the dominant party in the Company,—and to sustain the credit and alleged gravity of his earlier representations of the affair, it was requisite that such proceedings should be taken in Virginia as would show that the colonists coincided with him in considering Spilman's conduct as little short of treason.

In the hurried trial which accordingly followed, the Governor was, in effect, judge, party, and prosecutor. The Assembly, acting in his presence, with a deep respect for his station and the influence derived from his wealth, and under feelings of personal kindness and especial gratitude towards him as the bearer of new and valuable civil privileges, were blind to the justice of the case; and considering him to be, as he alleged, an injured party, the members, while listening to the unscrupulous statements of Poole, gave way to an impulse and outburst wholly in favor of the Governor.

Although Spilman's positive denial of Poole's accusations, and his admission of what he actually had said, might have convinced the Assembly of the injustice of the charges brought against him, yet, in the Governor's presence, they were naturally unwilling to oppose his known wishes, or to subject themselves to the imputation of fickleness by retracting the hasty opinions to which they had, just before, inconsiderately given utterance.

Besides, the Governor having determined to end the session on the same day, there was not time for a deliberate consideration of the merits of the case. The pressure of business obliged the Assembly to omit the engrossment of the laws and proceedings, and leave it to be completed, after the session, by the Speaker. The members, also, were extremely impatient to escape from the intense heat and the noxious atmosphere of Jamestown (*supra*, p. 14); and therefore the more lightly bartered away the rank and freedom of Spilman to pay a compliment to their Governor.

The proceedings, of which this was the conclusion, furnished materials for the groundless charge, which, four years later, appeared in the "Declaration" that the Earl of Warwick's "followers" had spread rumors in Virginia, and even to Opechancanough, that the earl would shortly come over as Governor to supersede and arraign Sir George Yeardley.

On this last day of the session, a petition was presented from the inhabitants of Paspahigh, or Argall's town, showing, that the Treasurer, Council, and Company in England, had taken from them three hundred acres of land in Paspahigh, sold then by Argall,

to your lordship, as he hath promised, he wilbe the fittest messenger. All possible happines I wishe to your lordship and to my most honoured lady, and though remote in place, yet neare in affection, doe reste

Your lordships ever most humbly at your commande

JO. PORY.

James City in Virginia, Sept. 30, 1619.

and had "expressly and by name appointed that place of Paspasheigh for part of the Governor's land." The prayer of the petition was, that the Assembly would give them an absolute discharge from the bonds given to Argall for payment to himself of the purchase-money (£600), and of £50 more to Captain William Powell for clearing the ground and building the houses.

The Assembly had already, on the second day of the session, voted to petition the Treasurer, Council, and Company, that "such grounds as had been granted by patent to the ancient planters by former Governors, who had from the Company received commission so to do, might not now, after much labor and cost, and so many years' habitation, be taken from them," and allotted to the Governor, &c.; and likewise that the Assembly might be informed by the Council and Company what commission or authority had been given to each particular Governor, in times past.

But the Assembly, expressing doubts of its own power, voted to refer the petition addressed to it by the inhabitants of Paspasheigh, to the Council and Company in England, with a request, that Argall should be compelled to surrender the bonds given for the £600 purchase-money; and, also, to repay the £50, already paid by the grantees to Captain Powell; or that restitution should be made in Virginia out of his *goods*. This expression implies that Argall then had some personal but no real property in Virginia.

It is not known that Argall ever owned more than the three hundred acres of land in question, but he once had a right to four hundred acres. In February, 1617, he and several associates became entitled to twenty-four shares of fifty acres each, in the Company's lands, in the whole twelve hundred acres, in consideration of their sending twenty-four persons to settle in Virginia. Argall's proportion was four hundred acres for his eight men brought over, and he probably had the management of the shares of his five associates.

By the law, as it then stood, he had a right to select any unappropriated land. Paspasheigh, in which his three hundred acres were situated, was eligible, from its known salubrity, and proximity to Jamestown; and therefore such as would be selected by any sagacious, enterprising person, so familiar with the country, as Argall was.

The title, in ordinary course, would have been, and no doubt was, perfected by survey and order of court. It is absurd to suppose, that the petitioning grantees would, in those days, have purchased land so near the spot where the records were kept, to which the title was defective. (Stith, p. 139; I. Burke, 354 Appx.; II. Maxwell, Va. Hist. Register, p. 190; Beverly, p. 241.)

The Company, however, appropriated, for the use of Governor Yeardley and his successors in office, three thousand acres of land, in which was included, not only the tract in question, but others also, granted earlier by Sir Thomas Dale. This appropriation being made, as the petition states, by the Company's "great commission," — brought out by Sir George Yeardley, — in which Paspasheigh was named as part of the Governor's land, it is certain that the whole affair was concerted and arranged before Sir George Yeardley left England, and, most probably, at his own suggestion; as a measure that, in combination with other advantages, promised some indemnity for the alleged defalcations of Argall. (Assembly Proceedings, 1619.)

Argall, having sold the land, was not himself reached by this arbitrary proceeding. Had it continued in his possession, it would still be unjust to confiscate it in his absence, without

allowing him either trial or hearing. His grantees were the actual sufferers. Summarily ejected from homesteads honestly bought, and for the buildings and improvements on which they had laid out money, they were, nevertheless, bound to pay the purchase-money secured by bond. The hardship of their case would not be mitigated if the Company granted the Assembly's earlier petition. That petition did not apply to purchasers, but only to ancient planters, holding under patents of former Governors. The petition of the grantees themselves, also, does not ask for the land, but only that they may be discharged from the bonds which they had given to Argall. The result, if their petition was granted, would be, that Argall, the intended victim, would lose not only the whole purchase-money, but the land also, and have to pay £50 besides for buildings and improvements; the whole benefit of which was enjoyed, not by him, but for the present, at least, by Sir George Yeardley. This temporary benefit had its weight in the management of this affair. It was so much clear gain, that would not accompany any ordinary grant; because all such grants were presumed to be of unoccupied and unimproved soil only.

It is evident that Sir George Yeardley meant, if possible, to retain possession of Argall's land, and induce the grantees to claim the interposition of the Assembly in their behalf, in whatever way he might suggest or permit. This was so managed as both to shield Governor Yeardley from further importunity and apprehension of loss; and, what was equally agreeable to him, to keep up the clamor, and add to the mass of complaints raised in the Company against Argall, by now urging the Council and Company to compel him, at a great sacrifice, to repair the wrongs inflicted by themselves on the inhabitants of Paspasheigh. Governor Yeardley probably had in view similar purposes prejudicial to Argall, in 1621; when, without any assigned reason, he turned Adam Dixon and James Berry (Perry, I. Burk, p. 336) out of two hundred acres of land in Warrasqueak, given them by Argall; on which, after clearing it, they had expended £100 in building a house. Dixon, the next year, 1622, petitioned the king for redress; and after about two years' delay, on the 21st January, 1624, the case reached the General Assembly, where the testimony of Dixon, and Thomas Gates, and another, was taken on the subject. As the Company was then on the point of dissolution, no decision could be expected; and the result is not known.

In this matter, Argall acted as the agent of Sir Thomas Smith, either as treasurer, or in his private capacity; between whom and the three, — Dixon, Perry, and Gates, — there were outstanding accounts. Argall, in giving them their freedom, made it an indispensable condition that they should relinquish all claims upon Sir Thomas, and likewise required them to serve one year more without wages or clothes. To this they agreed, but afterwards complained of it as hard. But as each of these men had a hundred acres of land given them, and the year of gratuitous service, for aught that appears, formed part of the term of service agreed on; and, moreover, as Dixon and Perry had a hundred pounds between them to lay out in building a house, — they cannot have been very hardly dealt with. That neither Argall nor Sir Thomas Smith thought so, is shown by Stith's representation (p. 226) of Dixon's petition, as one of those "raised up and suborned" by a party, in which he had often, expressly and by name, included both Smith and Argall. No one, surely, would suborn another to publish his own misdeeds. There can be little doubt that Dixon was, as he said, one of the public tenants, or that the three others hired with him were so likewise; and as all of their class, at that period, eagerly desired to be set free, so many, in all probability, had their freedom granted, that, taking into view mortality and ordinary contingencies, the deficiency of tenants at the end of Argall's administration may be accounted for without charging him, as Stith does (p. 159), with depopulating and ruining the public lands. Besides, for aught that is known, they might have been of those freed by Sir Thomas Dale, on condition that they should serve three years, which had not expired in Argall's time.

Yeardley had left Virginia immediately after Argall arrived there in May, 1617, and remained in England until he, in turn, superseded Argall. That he coveted and sought the office, is evinced by the fact that his two years' stay in England, at this period, and his subsequent visit in 1625, both ended in his obtaining the appointment of Governor. His previous removal, to make way for Argall, had wounded his self-love; and his mortification was soon after increased, when he learned that his favorite but lax and improvident system of

government had been discarded by his successor for one more strict and vigorous, and obviously better adapted to the critical circumstances in which the colony was then placed, as well as to promote its permanent prosperity.

This reform, however, was unwelcome; not so much to the laborious commonalty, as to the more wealthy and luxurious planters, the intimate friends or associates of Yeardley; to those who indulged themselves in the sport of shooting, or employed Indians to shoot deer and wild fowl for them; and to those speculators of the colony, or merchants in England, who were no longer allowed their former free intercourse and trade with the savages, which had often been accompanied with fraud, violence, and injury to the colonial traffic with the Indians. All their complaints would, of course, be communicated to Yeardley, in terms equally unfavorable to Argall and to a discovery of the real truth. It fell in with Yeardley's views, to encourage the colonists in this querulous correspondence; as might easily be done, both by direct replies, and through his agents, to whom he was obliged to write concerning his possessions and affairs in Virginia.

The events of the time strongly indicate that, after Lord De la Warre had left for Virginia, the first plan of Argall's enemies was to get him out of Virginia. Lord De la Warre, accordingly, was ordered to send him to England. This would leave the office of Deputy-governor vacant, and open for Yeardley. On learning the death of Lord De la Warre, this plan was changed. Yeardley, by his wealth, and the extraordinary supply of tobacco which he had caused to be sent to England at a moment when it yielded a great profit, had gained high favor and influence with the Company. Instead of going back to Virginia as a Deputy-governor, he was to return with the commission of Governor and Captain-General for three years, favored with seven hundred acres of land in fee, over and above the ordinary quantity allowed for the same number of persons as he sent out to the colony at his own private expense; with three thousand acres of land and one hundred tenants for his use while Governor; and, what was probably no less acceptable, with instructions to bring Argall to trial *in Virginia*. This was, under existing circumstances, little else than placing Argall's life, liberty, and property absolutely at the mercy of a determined enemy. We may add that the official power and authority wielded by Yeardley were materially strengthened by a moral and almost autocratical influence derived from the fact, that he came back to Virginia as the bearer, and donor apparent, of enlarged civil liberty, and of new and highly prized civil privileges. The Assembly, or any other colonial tribunal, composed, as it would be, of the aristocracy of the land, would, under the circumstances, be very apt to pass upon Argall whatever sentence the Governor might suggest or prefer.

When Argall began his administration in Virginia, the death of Pocahontas had deprived the colony of its most efficient check upon the hostility of Powhatan. Governor Yeardley, although in the previous autumn he had shown a very laudable spirit, in promptly compelling, by force of arms, the Chickahominies to pay their stipulated tribute of corn, yet by weakly yielding to the crafty request of Opechancanough, to make no peace with them without his advice, enabled that savage chief to make himself more formidable by becoming king of these old enemies, whom neither he nor Powhatan had ever been able to subdue; and thus weakened and endangered the colony in the same proportion. The security of the colony demanded that the two savage tribes should be kept apart, as a check upon each other. (Smith, Va. p. 120; I. Burke, p. 179; Stith, p. 141.)

By the death of Powhatan, in April, 1618, his dominions descended to his brother, Itopatin, whose inert and unambitious disposition left his more active and aspiring brother, Opechancanough, free to make himself the actual sovereign of an empire more extensive and powerful than Powhatan had ever possessed. The brothers confirmed the league formerly made with Powhatan; but the massacre of Killingbeck and his party, and the murder, within a week after, of five young children in the house of Fairfax, one mile only from Jamestown, showed how little reliance could be placed on Indian professions or engagements. The want of ammunition in the colony, and the fact that the Indians had firearms, and knew how to use them,—as in the instance of Killingbeck, who was shot dead by an Indian, with an English musket,—added greatly to the dangers to which the colony was exposed, and made it impossible to seek redress by force of arms.

Under the circumstances, it was indispensably necessary to husband the scanty stock of

ammunition, to conceal the deficiency from the Indians, and to take great precautions against mutual provocations and hostilities.

Argall's regulations, though severely censured by his enemies, were yet well adapted to the exigencies of the moment, and to the motley character of the mass under his government. He prohibited shooting, except in self-defence, until a supply of ammunition should come in, on pain of a year's slavery; hunting deer or hogs without the Governor's leave, and all private trade and familiarity with the Indians; and also reaffirmed the standing law, which made it death to teach an Indian to shoot. All intercourse, without the Governor's leave, was stopped between landmen and the crews of ships; obviously, because it had always led to idleness, intemperance, and the pillage both of ships' stores and of tools, implements, and other property of the Company. Persons absenting themselves from church on Sundays and holidays were "to lie neck and heels that night, and be a slave to the colony for the following week; for the second offence, he should be a slave for a month; and for the third, a year and a day." (Stith, p. 148.)

These regulations have been censured as acts of tyranny; but, in fact, they were a mitigation of the severe laws previously in force. Under the older law, every man and woman was required to attend Divine service twice every day. For the first absence on a *working* day, the penalty was loss of the day's allowance of food from the public store; for the second, to be whipped; for the third, six months in the galleys. For the first absence on the *Sabbath*, a week's provision was forfeited; a second absence incurred the same forfeiture of provision and a whipping besides; and a third was punishable by *death*. The clergymen was also obliged, each Sunday afternoon, "before catechizing," to weary himself and his hearers, for two or three hours, by reading all the laws and ordinances, on pain of losing his 'entertainment' for the week following." (Lawes Divine, &c., § 6, 37; I. Burke, p. 195.)

Argall neither compelled any one to attend Divine service on working days, nor women on Sundays; nor was corporal punishment admitted into his list of penalties. In this last particular, he showed more humanity, as well as more impartiality, than the General Assembly of 1619, which prescribed that punishment for servants absent from church service; while masters atoned for the same fault by paying a fine of three shillings, which in those days meant one pound of best tobacco.

Such of Argall's regulations as were not in their nature temporary, nor relative to intercourse with the Indians, were substantially confirmed by the Assembly.

The regulation, by which the rate of profit on articles imported for sale, was limited to twenty-five per cent on the cost, — and the price of tobacco, also, fixed at three shillings a pound for the best, and eighteen pence for the second quality, — was approved and adopted by the Company and by the General Assembly of the following year, as well as by that of 1624. There being no coin in the colony, and tobacco having taken its place as currency and the common instrument of exchange, it was of the utmost importance that its value should be fixed and determined by law. It was no less necessary that the more numerous, indigent class of the colonists, should be protected from the extortion of the factors of the magazine, as well as from that of private importers.

The penalty, three years' slavery, for any one who sold over or under the prescribed rates, was not adopted by the Assembly, but left to the discretion of the Governor and Council. The offence was probably considered equivalent to that of clipping or debasing legal coin. The original penalty, therefore, could hardly be deemed too severe, especially when it is remembered that clipping and debasing were then capital crimes in the mother country.

A different fate attended Argall's regulations respecting the Indians. All his safeguards against their hostility had to give way to Governor Yeardley's cherished policy of free intercourse. The Company in England had been induced to give him instructions for "drawing the better disposed of the Indians to converse, and live, and labor with the colonists." Consequently, Indians, in parties of five or six, or even more, with the special permission of the Governor, were allowed by the Assembly "to come to places well peopled, to do service in killing deer, fishing, beating corn, &c., provided a good guard at night were kept over them;" but "lone inhabitants" were not to "entertain" them.

The colonists were required by the Assembly to refrain from injuring or oppressing the Indians, lest the existing peace should be disturbed, and ancient quarrels renewed. The

benefit of this provision was expressly extended to the new subjects of Opechancanough, the ferocious and faithless Chickahominies.

All persons, except servants, might trade freely with the Indians. Servants trading were to be whipped, unless the master paid ten shillings to save the offender from the chastisement. Selling or giving arms or ammunition to an Indian was punishable by hanging, as soon as the fact was proved, "without all redemption." No one was allowed to go to any Indian town, habitation, or place of resort, without the Governor's permission. The penalty for so doing was forty shillings, to be paid, for public uses, to the incorporation in which the offender dwelt. With the exception of the two penalties just mentioned, none whatever were annexed to the violation of any regulation. The punishment was left entirely to the Governor's discretion. Indeed, the restraints placed on intercourse and trade with the Indians were rather nominal than real. The Governor, we know, actually permitted Poole and others to visit Indian towns and trading-posts; and he would hardly subject himself to the just and unavoidable imputation of partiality, by withholding from one planter an indulgence which he freely granted to another. Indians, moreover, in unlimited numbers, might be employed to shoot deer and all other game; and they, most surely, would not be slow to find opportunities for supplying themselves with arms and ammunition. The massacre of 1622 demonstrated the impolicy of sweeping away the restrictions introduced by Argall.

To ensure the adoption of his own favorite measures, Sir George Yeardley took an early precaution to reserve to himself and the two committees of his selection, to examine and prepare them before they were submitted to the Assembly. We say, of his selection, for, although Pory, as Speaker, nominated and formed the committees, yet he had been too short a time in the colony to know much of the burgesses. The Governor, on the other hand, having known them intimately for years, we may be sure that Pory would almost necessarily be guided by the Governor's better knowledge and personal wishes, in his nominations; and, of course, that such members chiefly would be placed on the committees as would support the Governor's measures. As the Company had, in their instructions, sanctioned the leading principle of Yeardley's Indian policy, he was consequently now free to shape it in all its details as he pleased. As usual, he was not unmindful of his own interest. The earliest, and perhaps the chief part of his wealth, had been acquired in trading with the Indians, through the agency of Poole, before the trade in tobacco had sprung up; and when trade with the Indians was the only lucrative one carried on in Virginia. Poole, like all Poles, and other natives of Northern Europe, had, from childhood, known about furs and skins much more than his fellow-colonists did; and as much as they in regard to corn, sassafras, or any other article to be obtained from the Indians. He was fond of savage, wilderness life; spoke Indian as well, if not better than English; and with the natives of the forest was as much at home, but better fed, more at ease, and a much greater man, than with the English settlers. Both were equally foreigners to him. In a pursuit, where gain, at any rate, was the ruling principle and main object in view, his obsequious servility to those in authority over him, and his unscrupulousness under their protection, both acknowledged characteristics of the Polish serf, would make him a particularly convenient as well as profitable servant, in the eyes of so shrewd and thrifty a man of business as Sir George Yeardley. But when Argall shut off all intercourse and all further gains from trade with the Indians, he drew down upon himself the denunciations of many men of substance in the colony; of Sir George Yeardley; and all other speculators in London who were at all interested in the interdicted trade.

In the colony he incurred the resentment of the mariners confined to their ships, as well as of all the drones and knaves among the landmen, who in past times had freely resorted to every ship in port, as to a tavern, or a mart for the sale or exchange of stolen goods, ships' wares, and all portable kinds of public property. Even the farmers were discontented, because they could no longer shoot game, nor the crows that robbed their fields, nor the animals or birds of prey that destroyed their sheep and poultry.

In England, every malcontent had his circle of friends; and they, together with the numerous party then striving to displace Sir Thomas Smith and gain control of the Company, were, under ambitious and avaricious leaders, made to combine their efforts to create and foster discontent in the colony, and to swell the clamor at home against Argall.

Although the outburst that followed was, in its origin and real character, a mere conflict of private against public interests, against measures indispensably requisite for the preservation of the colony, yet it became so violent and powerful, that the Treasurer and Council were at length constrained to bow before it.

Lord De la Warre, in the first instance, was despatched in April, 1618, to supersede Argall by taking the supreme command into his own hands. On the 23d of the following August, he was instructed to send Argall home as a malefactor, to answer sundry criminal charges; and likewise to seize and send to the Company all the goods and movable property belonging to him in Virginia. His lordship did not live to receive these instructions.

On the same day, Sir Thomas Smith, Alderman Johnson, the Deputy-Treasurer, Sir Lionel Cranfield, and others of the Council, wrote Argall a reproachful letter, recapitulating the crimes and misdemeanors of which he was accused.

As this letter is the source and foundation of most of the censures vented against Argall in the "Declaration" of 1623, mentioned before, and has gone down in history to our days, as an authentic record of indisputable facts, it is right to mention that its statements were never admitted to be true by Argall; nor, as far as we know, ever substantiated by his adversaries. Instead of being regarded, as in their origin and real character they were, the reckless or passionate utterances of self-interested enemies, they have been inconsiderately accepted, as so many conclusive judgments, founded on deliberate, careful, and impartial investigation. By authors, from Stith to those of the present day, Argall is held up sometimes even to scorn, as if his character were a legitimate theme of vilification. The severity with which he is censured ought, however, to be greatly moderated when it is remembered that, up to the time of Yeardley's first return to England, his name had never been touched by the breath of scandal. On the contrary, he had been esteemed by his superiors in authority, who knew him well, and by the community at large, as generous, disinterested, sagacious, brave; and a vigilant, devoted, and most able and useful servant of the colony. After his final return to England, where he could, in person, fully explain the difficulties of his official position, and give a fair history of his calumniated administration, the very writers of the letter in question, who both could and would have spurned him from their presence, if they had continued to believe the statements in it to be true, constantly upheld and defended his cause, and manifested their respect and friendship for him. On the other hand, throughout the space of more than four years that elapsed between his return and the dissolution of the Company, his enemies, although they had in their hands, as — in contradiction to the "Declaration" of the preceding year, made by the Virginia Council and Somer's Island assistants (I. Burke, 323) — the planters, in their "Declaration" of 1624, affirmed, all the affidavits respecting Argall's alleged misconduct, which they, the planters, had, one and all, given to Governor Yeardley in 1619, yet do not appear to have succeeded in making out a case against him.

The charges against Argall, set forth in the Council's letter (Stith, p. 150), are some of them general, indefinite, without circumstantial details, and all of them unaccompanied with any proof whatever. Under the circumstances, they might very justly be passed over as idle, or at best as unsupported, accusations; but our belief of their injustice not resting on evidence so entirely negative, we shall endeavor, in the following comments, to give an idea of their real character.

The first in the series is, that "he was exceedingly chargeable to the Company, and converted the fruits of their expense to his own private use." Now, these fruits, when the tenants and laborers, "the Company's company," had been reduced to "fifty-four men, women, and children" (Smith, 124), and continued to diminish as more of them died or were set free, could not be very great, nor had they ever been so; and again, his body-guard of six men was not so "chargeable to the Company" as Lord De la Warre's "fifty halbardiers in 'fair red cloaks'" (Strachey, chap. 3), or Deputy-Governor Yeardley's company, with "its right-hand file led by an Indian." (Smith, p. 123.) Besides, it is difficult to conjecture upon what a Governor, without salary or emoluments, was to subsist, especially in his first year, unless upon some fruit or other of the public "expense."

This loose and indefinite charge seems to have been designed originally, by its author, to usher in and give an air of plausibility to the second, which is, that "he" (Argall) "was

grown so proud and insolent, as to scorn the title of Deputy-Governor, declaring that he would be no man's deputy." From what has been already stated (p. 28), it is apparent that Captain Brewster was the author of this accusation. Having the superintendence of Lord De la Warre's plantation, he had disputed and attempted to overrule Argall's official authority to require, as in ordinary cases, the services of the men belonging to the plantation, on the ground that his lordship's private orders given to Brewster, not to Argall, prescribing their course of duty, were paramount. Argall, of course, contended that he had only exercised a legitimate authority; and, most likely incensed at Brewster's contumelious opposition, insisted, in the peremptory style of the quarter-deck, on its being respected.

Brewster had been distinguished by the special favor of Lord De la Warre. Being the son of William Brewster, who fell a victim to Indian hostility, four months after the first planters landed in 1607, his lordship felt so deep an interest in him, that he brought him over as one of his establishment, for the first time, to Virginia, in 1610; appointed him, on or before landing, to the command of his own body-guard; and, nine months later, when compelled by ill-health to return to England, confided to him the management of his lordship's plantation. Led by these favors to overrate his own relative importance in the colony, he regarded Argall's interference with the concerns of his stewardship, as impertinent; and the language and manner in which Argall asserted his authority, as an unpardonable indignity. The phraseology of the charge itself shows, that it was in this spirit that he gave his correspondents in England and his friends in the colony his version of the affair; which was, in terms, a splenetic attempt to disparage and give a repulsive character to Argall's vindication of his legitimate authority, and to represent it as prompted by the arrogant conceit of an upstart. (IV. Purch, Percy's Disc. p. 1690; Strachey, chap. 4.)

Converting the language of this second charge from the narrative to the colloquial style, Argall's words obviously would be, "I am no man's deputy." To declare this, implied neither pride nor insolence, much less scorn, for the title of Deputy-Governor; for the point in dispute was not the name, but the power of his office; and, in truth, in the absence of the Governor-General, he was no man's deputy. He was, as expressed in one of his commissions, "for the present, principal Governor of Virginia," amenable only to the Company itself. (Campb. p. 126.) His authority, in the internal administration of the colony, was as free, complete, and obligatory on the colonists as that of the Governor-General himself, when present in Virginia. The latter, while remaining in England, had, as he well knew, no lawful control over the official acts of his substitute in Virginia; nor was there any privilege or immunity attached to his property, beyond what was common to that of other proprietors, that would exempt his servants from sharing in the public work of the colony, whether in repairing dilapidated buildings, erecting new ones, doing the same for the boats and vessels of the colony, transporting materials and men to and from different places, or any other public service, on land or water. That these would, by his accusers, be all called "his own work," there can be little doubt; and yet the only private work of his that we know of, the clearing of his land at Paspapeigh, was certainly not done at the expense of the colony, or of any non-proprietor.

It is in the highest degree improbable that Argall, who, at least, was a man of sound sense, would have done any thing whatever in opposition to the wishes or interest of Lord De la Warre, whose good opinion he had won by valuable and faithful services; who had highly praised those services in his lordship's "Declaration" of 1611, and had recognized his merits at an earlier date by appointing him commander of one of the five military companies, as well as a member of his Council, and only recently selected him as his Deputy-Governor. Besides, this imputed ingratitude on Argall's part is the less likely to have happened, as he had reason to expect Lord De la Warre shortly to come over to Virginia. His intention to do so was certainly known in London. Lord Zouch's contract with him, for the transport and employment of seven Englishmen, was dated the 27th of December, 1617, about six months after Argall's arrival in Virginia.

Stith says, that Lady De la Warre complained that he had wrongfully taken some of her goods, without rendering any account of them; and adds, that he ruined and depopulated the plantation. To these imputations it may be replied, that Lady De la Warre was never in Virginia; and that, as she must have obtained all her information from the authors of

other false charges, her complaint, if she ever made it, is entitled to just as much credence as those charges, and no more. If, as Stith alleges, the plantation was ruined and depopulated, how happened the General Assembly of 1619 to consider the plantation as still in existence and productive; and to specially enact, that if she and Lady Dale, Captain Bargrave and others, "would unite themselves in a settled colony," they should, like the several "hundreds," which had been previously mentioned, have the privilege of sending their produce to their own consignees abroad, instead of being compelled, as they hitherto, like others, had been, to deliver it to the agents of the Magazine for sale. The goods which Argall was accused of taking from the servants, were probably produce taken to England by the Magazine ship, for which the Cape merchant, Mr. Abraham Persey, and not Argall, was accountable.

This responsibility goes far to neutralize the next charge against Argall; namely, that "he wronged the Magazine by negligence and connivency." How he, or any one else but the Cape merchant, or some of his subordinates, could do so in the sale of articles imported, or in receiving colonial produce for export by the Magazine ships, is quite inconceivable. In fact, the only circumstance known to us, that gives any countenance to this charge is, that a ship owned by Captain Bargrave, that had been compelled to lie idle in the waters of Virginia for a twelvemonth, at last being employed to carry news to the Company of the state of the colony, on account of the non-arrival of any Magazine ship, was allowed to take to England about four tons of tobacco, part of which belonged to the Company, and the rest to Bargrave and the passengers. It being the purpose of the Magazine Company to confine the transport of all freight to their own vessels, this, though permitted by § 122 of the "Orders and Constitutions of 1619," was, at the time, a slight encroachment upon their monopoly. It was caused chiefly, however, by their neglect to follow up, in due time, the first Magazine ship despatched, the "Susan," by the second, the "George;" which latter, having a passage of five months, did not reach Virginia till nearly two years after the arrival of the "Susan." The "Susan" arrived in the latter part of September, 1616, eight months before Argall took office as Governor. The "George," the only Magazine ship that was deprived of any portion of freight, had all that remained of two years' crops. In Smith, the account by Argall and Rolfe is, that before "the arrival, we had gathered and made up our tobacco; the best at three shillings the pound, the rest at eighteen pence."

Under the circumstances, as Argall's doings in the matter gave the colonists some relief from an oppressive monopoly, and were justifiable on the other grounds adverted to, they appear to be as fairly entitled to approval as to censure. The censure, perhaps, would not have been so readily bestowed, if the drought and hail of 1618 had not seriously reduced both the quantity and quality of the tobacco crop. (Smith, p. 124. Planter's Declaration.)

He was charged, also, with having "appropriated the Indian trade to himself, using the Company's vessels and men to trade for his own benefit." As we have already stated, he had interdicted all private trade and familiarity with the savages; and this, for wise and prudent reasons, founded on the culpable neglect of the Company to furnish proper supplies of gunpowder and other ammunition. But it was obligatory on him to employ the vessels and their crews in guarding the waters of Virginia against the disorderly and illicit trade of intrusive strangers and speculators. It was also good policy, in the existing deficiency of ammunition, at times to display the local naval force in the eyes of the Indians, to make them respect the power and resources of the colony. Argall, as a veteran mariner, would be apt to take command on such occasions; and opportunities for traffic would, no doubt, frequently occur. If availed of, they afforded means of keeping the Indians in good humor; and, besides, of learning their designs and movements. If Argall really did turn those opportunities to his personal advantage, we should be slow to consider it a very heinous crime. That he denied his humble companions their fair share of such advantage, would be inconsistent with his conduct on all similar occasions. That colonists of higher rank or greater wealth were excluded, was a natural consequence of his peculiar position, and of circumstances that could hardly be avoided.

Charges of having employed, on his private account, old planters entitled to their freedom, as well as the tenants and servants of Company; and, also, of having fed his own servants upon the public corn, are wholly unaccompanied with proofs or details; and, therefore, are

to be held in suspense, at best; or rather, as the unsupported accusations of such enemies as Brewster and Yeardley. We only know that some were freed, and upon terms which, if hard, were agreed to.

The loss of four hundred pounds, paid by the Company for Spanish hides seized by Argall in his capacity of Admiral, might as fairly be ascribed to the Spanish ambassador's powerful influence over the king, which had just sent Raleigh to the block, as to the supposed justice of his claim. As against Argall, the charge is by no means sufficiently clear or explicit to establish the fact of his culpability.

In fine, Argall is also told that he "neither looked into, nor regarded the Company's instructions, but under pretence of their commission; and, against their express order, had disposed of *all* the Company's cattle, and converted the profit to his own use." This charge has a merit which nearly all the others want. It is, in part, specific, and not so general and indefinite, as entirely to preclude examination and answer.

The number of the Company's cattle, of all genders and ages, in Yeardley's time, 1616, was, by the account in "5th Purchas," page 838, one hundred and forty-four. When Argall succeeded to the government in May, 1617, they were one hundred and twenty-eight; *i. e.*, sixteen less. (Smith's Va. p. 123.) Eighteen months after, in the autumn of 1618, having learned by letters which came in the preceding August by the "Neptune," Lord De la Warre's ship, that multitudes were about to be sent out, and to depend upon the plantation for provisions, Argall and the Council wrote to the Company in England, that in the actual state of the colony,—the harvest having failed,—to send out people without provision would cause great misery. The letter stated, in substance (*Id.* p. 124), that they mainly wanted skilful husbandmen to reap, thresh, and secure their corn in season, and thus protect it from being spoiled in the field by winds and the cattle, and by rats in the barn; that the ground was as good as any man could desire; and they had "*about forty bulls and oxen*," but wanted men to train them to labor; as well as iron for the ploughs, and harness for the cattle.

The incidental remark, in this letter to the Company, about the proximate number of bulls and oxen on hand, was introduced as a mere matter of business, and there is no reason to doubt its truth; nor, of course, that the charge of selling *all* the cattle was a wanton calumny, and not entitled to the slightest credence in regard to the sale of any cattle whatever.

It should be borne in mind, that, at this time of writing to the Company, Argall did not know that he had been accused of fraudulently selling the Company's cattle. The latest news from England had been received in August by the "Neptune" and the "Treasurer," which left England nearly at the same time, in April, 1618. The accusers of Argall did not commence open warfare against him as long as Lord De la Warre and Sir Thomas Dale, who were well acquainted with Virginian affairs, and who highly respected the services and character of Argall, were in England, at hand to defend him. The Company's letter of the 13th of August, containing the array of charges, as well as the one accompanying it, instructing Lord De la Warre to send him home as a malefactor, did not reach Argall's hands till his letter respecting the cattle, &c., had been sent away by the "Neptune," on her return voyage, near the beginning of the following November. If he had then had the least intimation of the contents of the Company's two letters, he would not have been employing himself in suggesting to the Company plans for the benefit of a colony from which they had ordered him to be ignominiously expelled.

At the period when those two letters were written, it is manifest that the authority of Argall had already been denied and countermanded by Brewster, and that Argall had not taken any measures whatever against him; for, if taken, they would not have failed to occupy the most prominent place among the other charges. On the contrary, all circumstances indicate that Argall looked upon the affair as a casual momentary altercation, or dispute, that had been definitively settled at the time, and no more to be thought of. But when he discovered from these letters, that his adversary, in the interval, had been conspiring, with others, to defame and displace him, by giving the Company an unfair representation of their difference, couched in terms of supercilious contempt and rancorous abuse, and accompanied with other foul imputations, emanating directly, or indirectly, from the same source, and

that by these calumnies the Council had been so wrought upon as to order him to be brought home in disgrace as a criminal, Argall's forbearance towards Brewster would naturally come to an end.

The length of time that was allowed to pass quietly away between Brewster's first offence and his trial, refutes the assertion in "Stith" (p. 152), that proceedings against him were hastily instituted, because Argall was "drunk with power, and impatient of opposition." The various circumstances mentioned above would also lead to the conclusion, that Brewster was not arraigned merely "for daring," as the "Declaration" phrases it, "to open his mouth in any complaint against him," or for angry words uttered to a servant of Lord De la Warre, but for persisting, through a long interval, in abusive denunciations of Argall's authority; for conspiring with others to bring his person and administration into contempt; by false accusations to procure his dismissal from office; to make the Council and Company believe that he had been guilty of felonies, and treat him like a criminal even before he had the slightest intimation that any charge had been brought against him, or had an opportunity allowed him to utter a syllable in his own defence.

The brevity with which reports of colonial trials were usually recorded, in obedience, originally, to royal instructions (Stith, p. 39), makes it hopeless to obtain the full particulars of any prosecution of that time. But we know that Brewster was arraigned, tried, and sentenced to death, according to laws then in force, made, and constantly put in execution, by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale. We also know that he was pardoned and sent home, under oath not to return, and in England and elsewhere to refrain from contemptuous language respecting Argall, and from all attempts to dishonor and disparage him.

We believe that no one, familiar with the history of that period, would venture to assert, that either Sir Thomas Gates or Sir Thomas Dale would have shown so much clemency to any one, under like circumstances. Both of their administrations were bloody and terribly severe. That of Argall was bloodless. Yet the former are generally spoken of in terms of commendation, and, only occasionally, of faint disapprobation; while Argall is currently held up to the reader as a ruthless tyrant.

Stith, who seldom questions the infallibility of any record or document emanating from the dominant party in the Virginia Company, seems to take pleasure in adding to the bitterness with which Argall is there assailed. In this way, his work, which has many excellences, has done harm, not only to the truth, but to the spirit of history. Later writers, taking his assertions for granted, and his acrimony for just and honest indignation, have been misled into such an abhorrence of Argall, that they seem to think it highly meritorious to decry, as crimes, acts of his which heretofore have been almost universally applauded as signally serviceable to the colony and highly honorable to himself.

Of Stith's misrepresentation of the first voyage of Argall to Virginia, as illegal, we have already (p. 5) given our opinion and the grounds of it. We will now add that Gabriel Archer (IV. Purchas, p. 1734) says that the ship was sent out by the leave and authority of the Council, and that her commander, Captain Argall, was "a good mariner and a very civil gentleman." At this period, when Argall and the master, Tyndall, happened to be ashore, they were forcibly detained; and the sails of the vessel landed by the starving colonists, the better to enable them to rifle her of all her surplus provisions, consisting chiefly of wine and biscuits: to all which, says the "Planter's Declaration," "he [Argall] seemed willingly to condescend." This, certainly, was not the conduct of a person given up to greed and rapacity, and devoid of human sympathies; and it ought to have shielded him from the unsparing obloquy of those who erroneously represented him to be engaged in an unlawful trade.

The capture of Pocahontas is denounced by Burk as a flagrant violation of faith; by other writers of a later date, as the infamous treachery of an unscrupulous and crafty person. But at that period, and previously, during the whole three years of incessant hostility that followed the barbarous and perfidious massacre of Ratcliffe's party of thirty Englishmen, invited guests of Powhatan, the English colony, by the ordinary laws of war, would have been justified in slaying any of his ordinary subjects, and, certainly, in capturing any of them by violence; even that friend of the English, his daughter Pocahontas. Could it, then, be a great crime to obtain by stratagem, and without force, what might have been right-

eously accomplished with it? No harm was intended or done to her, nor any inconvenience beyond the restraint imposed by her detention. The objects which Argall contemplated in effecting the capture of her, are set forth in his letter to Hawes. (IV. Purch. p. 1765.) Hearing that she was with the king of the Potomacs, he repaired thither, "resolving," as he says, "to possess myself of her by any stratagem that I could use, for the ransoming of so many Englishmen as were prisoners with Powhatan; as also, to get such arms and tools as he and other Indians had got by murder and stealing from others of our nation, with some quantity of corn, for the colony's relief."

To persuade the king, Japazaw, to deliver Pocahontas into his hands, Argall, his adopted brother, told him that, if he refused, the English would no longer be his friends; but, if he consented, they would not only continue friendly as before, but also protect him against the resentment and hostility of Powhatan; and give him, over and above, a small copper kettle, which he valued so highly, that for it, Hamor says, he would have betrayed his own father.

Japazaw readily agreed to do what Argall required; and, between himself and his wife, it was soon after planned, that she should feign a most anxious desire to go on board Argall's ship; that he, on the other hand, should affect to be excessively angry, and threaten to beat her for her importunity until she wept, when he was to relent so far, as to consent that she might go on board, if Pocahontas went with her. Pocahontas assenting, all three accordingly were taken, in Argall's boat, to the ship. The best cheer that could be had was seasonably provided, and they had a merry supper. After supper, Pocahontas retired to rest in the gun-room, and Japazaw took the opportunity of her absence to acquaint Argall with the stratagem, the only *craft* in the whole affair by which "they had betrayed his prisoner;" and afterwards they, also, went to sleep. Pocahontas had no suspicion of her neighbors' designs, but being more "possessed with fear and desire of return," than they were, was first up, and hastened Japazaw to be gone. Argall, who had privately given him the promised reward, was quite ready to send him and his wife ashore; but told him that, for the reasons mentioned above, Pocahontas must remain aboard, to go with himself to Jamestown, and be the means of securing peace between her country and the English.

This peremptory arrest and sudden separation from her friends, in the midst of a pleasure excursion, together with her misgivings as to the treatment awaiting her from the English, after three years of hostility, must, at the moment, have been very afflicting to a young female who, by birth and station, had always been free to do what she pleased, and to roam wherever she liked, uncontrolled by the will of any one but her fond and indulgent father. Her affliction was, of course, much aggravated by the loud outburst of lamentation and feigned sympathy in which Japazaw and his wife outvied each other, the better to avert all suspicion of having aided in her capture. This purpose would have been defeated, had they not kept up their counterfeit concern as long as Pocahontas's own grief lasted. According to all accounts, this was speedily allayed. Hamor says that she was treated with extraordinary courtesy. Of course, she was assured that no harm was intended her, and that the purpose of her detention was to save the lives of eight Englishmen, and to re-establish peace and friendly intercourse between her own nation and the English; and, further, that a message would be, as it was, sent at once to her father. As she felt sure that his affection for her would dispose him to make every sacrifice for her sake, she became reconciled to her situation, so as to countenance and share in the gayety of Japazaw and his wife, when they went merrily away with their copper kettle. Had circumstances permitted, no doubt she would have been eager, at any time, to revisit Jamestown, where she had always been most kindly welcomed, and where, three years before, day by day, she had in high glee joined the children of the place in all their sports and gambols. But whatever might have been her present reluctance, it would have been preposterous to sacrifice, to her tears and groundless apprehensions, the lives of the English, and the peace and safety of the whole colony. Before a year had passed away, she herself considered her abduction the happiest event of her life; and when she went with Sir Thomas Dale to be restored to her father, construing the tardiness of the latter in furnishing her ransom as a proof of want of affection, she forsook her tribe and her father, declaring that she "would dwell with the English, who loved her best."

The wisdom of Argall's enterprise was proved by the full accomplishment of his pur-

poses. The English captives were, ultimately, all restored; and the peace and consequent prosperity of the colony more firmly than ever before secured, even beyond the life of Powhatan. A more signal service to the colony was never rendered by any individual in Virginia; but Argall strove to make it more complete by creating additional means of transport and communication by water between the different parts of the country. Hamor (p. 19) says, "I pass by the benefit of peace by means of his captive, Pocahontas, and will only name the commodity by his means done to us, by repairing our weather-beaten boats, and furnishing new, both strong and useful; without which, we could hardly have obtained supplies, or gone from one to another." (IV. Purch. p. 1765. Birch-Jas. I. p. 262.)

It should be remembered to the credit of Argall, that he succeeded, by very simple means, and without aid or expense, in putting an effectual and permanent check to the hostility of Powhatan; a purpose which Sir Thomas Dale had, two years before, so much at heart, that he earnestly besought the Earl of Salisbury to send him two thousand men to enable him to accomplish it, by occupying five fortified plantations on the north bank of the James. — (Bancroft MSS.)

The removal of the French, in 1613, from Mount Desert, St. Croix, and Port Royal, has been severely censured, as an unauthorized and mere buccaneering or piratical enterprise of Argall's, first suggested to him in the course of a fishing voyage, by some Indians, who visited his vessel by chance, and informed him that a French ship had landed men, and was still lying at anchor at Mount Desert. This party of Frenchmen, thirty-two in number, including four Jesuits, was under the command of Captain La Saussaye, but was mainly designed for the central point of a Jesuit establishment, whence the missionaries of that order might carry on their zealous labors for the conversion of the savages, with less opposition than they had met with elsewhere. The project was not favored in France by the Catholics generally, nor at all by the Protestants. Sully, the great minister of Henry the Fourth, disapproved of De Monts's patent, and in general, of colonizing Canada, or any other place on the American territory above the fortieth degree of north latitude. (III. Sully Mem. p. 241. Biard, cap. 26, Relations-Jesuites I.; Parkman, Pioneers of France, pp. 279-294.)

As La Saussaye arrived at Mount Desert in the beginning of June, it is probable that Sir Thomas Dale neither knew any thing of the new French settlement, nor gave Argall any orders respecting it. The orders actually given were for "displanting" the French at "Sancta Crux" and Port Royal. These places, selected by De Monts and Poutrincourt respectively, were well known to the Virginian authorities, from the "France Nouvelle" of L'Escarbot, published at Paris in 1609, and Erondelle's English translation of it, which made its appearance in London the same year. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, in 1613, could hardly fail to have learned from L'Escarbot's "*Relation Dernière*," published in the preceding year, — as well as, indirectly, from the reports sent to England by friendly Protestants of Rochelle, and other places in France, — that strenuous efforts, of a marked religious character, were making in France for the revival and reinforcement of the forsaken post at St. Croix, and the languishing settlement at Port Royal, and, likewise, for the occupation of other places in their vicinity; a design facilitated and encouraged by the abandonment of the English plantation of Popham and Gorges, at Sagadahoc, at the close of the year 1609.

This increased activity of the French induced Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale to despatch Argall, with orders to expel them from the territory comprehended in King James's Patents. For the accomplishment of this purpose, Argall's ship was armed with fourteen guns, and manned with sixty musketeers, *trained*, as Father Biard says, *to sea-service; to board a ship over the side, and forward and aft, in rank or file, just as well as soldiers in the field*; a warlike equipment, it may be remarked, that amply refutes the supposition that Argall's ship was to be employed on a mere fishing voyage. He was on his way to execute the orders he had received from his superiors respecting "Sancta Crux" and Port Royal, when the information gained from the Indians led him to part company with his fishing-boat, and to bend his course first to the newer and nearer station, occupied by La Saussaye's company. (Smith's Va. p. 115; IV. Purch. 1808, 1828; Hamor, p. 36; Belknap, Am. Biog. § XIV., Discovery, &c., New-England Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. ix. 2d Series, p. 5.)

The French ship was still at her anchorage, with too few men on board to weigh the anchor, or to set the sails, which were all in confusion, or spread as an awning over the deck, when Argall's ship, painted red, was seen bearing directly down upon her, before the wind; coming on "swifter than an arrow," as the reverend Father Biard describes it, under all sail, with the English colors flying, and a stunning accompaniment of three trumpets and two drums in full play. She was hailed on her course by the pilot's shallop, under the French flag; but, without stopping, instantaneously answered the hail by a fire of musketry and cannon. After a short and feeble resistance, the French ship surrendered, and was immediately taken possession of by the English. Her crew, escaping to the shore in a boat, were hailed to return aboard. Being fired on, two of them leaped overboard and were drowned. Father du Thet, a Jesuit, was killed; the captain and owner, Flores, and three others, were wounded. There was no other casualty on either side.

According to Biard (chap. 26), Argall went ashore the same day; and not finding La Sausseye, who had fled, took possession of his trunks, had the locks picked, and took out all the documents and papers, without disturbing the rest of the contents, which were then secured from prowling depredators by relocking the trunks. In Purchas (IV. p. 1808) it is asserted that the patent of the French King was given up to be cancelled. We shall confine our comments to Biard's statements.

As this alleged act of Argall's has been made a subject of unsparing censure, we think it just to state, in his vindication, that, acting under the orders of his rulers, on an expedition of a warlike character, he had, as victor, by the laws of war, and especially by the usages of the time, a right to seize, not only the papers, but all the other articles in La Saussaye's trunks, without being responsible to any one but the Virginia authorities; who, in turn, were also responsible to their own sovereign for the orders they had given Argall. That he left those articles untouched does not indicate that unscrupulous rapacity with which he has been charged. The whole of the other private property found in the camp was fairly distributed among his half-clothed followers.

The papers in question were taken by Argall on the spur of the moment, just as they would have been by any commander of common sense, without any definite purpose, but mainly on the presumption that they related to matters of public interest, and might furnish information of special importance in regard to the acts, designs, and pretensions of the French government in the contested territory. As, at that moment, it was not known that La Sausseye would ever come back, it could not have been foreseen that, with him, any discussion whatever would take place, or reference be made to the papers.

Again, Argall had cause of anxiety in the disappearance of the pilot vessel that had hailed him. Had she been promptly despatched in search of assistance, a superior force of French ships and men might, for aught he knew, be soon joined to her crew of fifteen, and overpower him and his force of sixty men. As a provision against the possible contingency of capture, and being severely dealt with for attacking the French settlement, it was highly important for him to get possession of La Saussaye's papers, if it were only to destroy them, in order to put it out of the power of his victors to prove that the settlement was formed under royal sanction, and under that pretext to put him and his companions to death, as Gourges had done to the Spanish garrison in Florida. Biard intimates that Argall's apprehensions respecting the operations of the pilot vessel were such as procured him and his fellow-captives milder treatment.

Biard relates that La Saussaye made his appearance the next day, was received with great courtesy, and in a conversation which ensued, being asked where his commissions were, replied that they were in his trunks. The trunks being brought to him, with a caution given him to see if they had been meddled with, were opened, and every thing found in perfect order, but no papers. Upon this, Argall's tone and manner changed, and with a frown he exclaimed, "What then! you are playing false; you pretend that you have the commission of your king, but cannot give us the slightest proof of it. You are pirates and outlaws, and deserve death."

At the time when La Saussaye's papers were taken and concealed by Argall, Biard knew nothing of it. He says that he first learned it after he got to Virginia. On the day, also, when the interview took place between La Saussaye and Argall, he must have been absent,

in attendance on his dying brother-Jesuit, du Thet; and, of course, his account of their conversation was derived from the report of others. That report might be inaccurate through forgetfulness or misapprehension on the part of the hearers, in a moment of anxiety and confusion; as well as because the colloquy, being carried on in French, Argall, to whom that language was foreign, could not be so familiar with the nice distinctions and shades of meaning in phrases used by him, as altogether to avoid saying what he did not exactly mean, and being, consequently, misunderstood. This appears to have really happened. For Biard represents Argall on the day of his landing, as seeking, and on the next, as asking La Sausaye for the French King's commission, as if he regarded it in the exaggerated sense of an authority sufficient to cause him to abandon his conquest and leave the French in possession of the island; in other words, not only to condemn all that he had just deliberately done, but also, in advance, all that he still had to do under the orders of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, for "displanting" the French. It would be natural that he should cursorily, and in general terms, speak of the importance of the royal commission, as a reason for his wish to obtain it. But although he might give a plausible, he would not give an incredible excuse for his curiosity; certainly not one which would fail to make the slightest impression on the French, who had, an hour before, witnessed his hostile onset, in which he had utterly set at defiance all parleying, and shown his contempt for all French grants.

The royal commission was probably of importance in the eyes of Argall, chiefly as a means of ensuring greater submissiveness on the part of his captives, as long as he kept it concealed; and thereby deprived them of the power of demonstrating that they ought not to be treated as outlaws and pirates. But Argall never put his assumed theory of culpability in practice. Biard admits that his treatment of the French prisoners was never inhuman or cruel. Yet he and his colleague, Father Ennemond Masse, previously known to the English only as priests, being apprised of what had been said to La Saussaye, went on board the ship and besought Argall, by the blood of the Saviour, and his own hopes of mercy, that he would have compassion on the poor Frenchmen whom God had given over into his power, and, learning from their wretchedness how changeable are all things in this life, would be pleased to permit and assist them to return to France. Argall received them civilly and answered them respectfully. But, said he, dissemblingly, I am astonished that you Jesuits, who are generally considered conscientious and religious persons, should be found in a band of outlaws and freebooters; a set of vagabonds and miscreants. Biard, in answer, contended, with so much force of argument, that all their company were respectable persons, and favored by his Christian Majesty; and likewise refuted, so readily, every assertion to the contrary, that Argall was constrained to yield a seeming assent to his reasoning. "Certainly," said he, "by what I see, it was a great oversight for you to lose your papers in this way; but nevertheless, I will speak with your captain about your return." And from that time up to our departure, adds Biard, the two Fathers took their meals at his table, and were treated by him with great civility and respect.

Argall, in concert with La Saussaye, speedily fixed on the steps to be taken for the return of his company to France. The French shallop captured was given up to them, to proceed as they thought fit, in quest of some of the French vessels frequenting those waters for fish and furs. No sooner did Father Biard hear of this arrangement, than he hastened to represent to Argall that it was impossible for thirty persons, crowded into so small a vessel, to go one hundred and fifty leagues in her, and cross bays ten or twelve leagues wide, as they must do, before reaching any French vessel in which they could take refuge; that it would be to consign them to death and despair. Argall replied that La Saussaye did not think so. Still, if they wished to lighten the shallop, he would enable them to do so, by taking with him to Virginia such mechanics as were willing; who should not be restrained in point of religion, but, after one year's service, should be sent to France. Three accepted this offer. The Lieutenant, the *Sieur de la Motte*, whom Argall held in great esteem for his bravery and other excellent qualities, had, from the first, determined to accompany Argall to Virginia; and he was allowed to take with him several other persons, who felt safe under the favor shown him. Captain Flores resolved to go also. He had been encouraged to hope for the restoration of his ship, which was afterwards effected in England. The Fathers, Biard and Quaintain, with their two attendants, and others sufficient to complete the number of

fifteen, joined the preceding. Biard says, that he had desired Argall to convey the two Jesuits and their attendants to the Isles of Pencoit, where they might find their way to France by some English fishing-vessel, and that Argall had willingly granted his request. If Argall made such a promise, it was in its very nature conditional; dependent upon wind, weather, and other contingencies. He would, no doubt, have performed it if he could. But only a most selfish and exacting person could expect that three vessels, encumbered with freight, horses, goats, ordnance, &c., should, at any rate, and at all risks, turn out of their direct course to seek, perhaps in vain, for such a vessel as the Jesuit Fathers might be content, or be allowed, to take passage in. Father Biard was not the man to acquiesce in any disappointment without remonstrating. He knew, and might have told us, Argall's reasons for not touching at the Islands of Pencoit. As he chose not to disclose them, we may infer that it was more convenient to ignore than to answer them.

When Father Biard prevailed on Argall to reduce the number in La Saussaye's shallop to fifteen, both he and La Saussaye knew, though Argall did not, that the French pilot's shallop was then on the watch, hovering near, concealed from view behind one of the neighboring islands, and if La Saussaye's shallop were overloaded, could have readily lightened her of part of her company, and guided her in safety on her way from port to port. The season, summer, was propitious; safe harbors were frequent, fish abundant, and Indians to be found everywhere on the main land, who would provide for them food, if needed, and be sure to give them timely information of all French vessels visiting the coast. La Saussaye certainly was not, at first, of Father Biard's opinion, that putting thirty men aboard the shallop, was to devote them to death and despair.

Father Biard also, while soliciting favors of Argall, and constantly a guest at his table, had secret interviews by night with the pilot Bailleur, who was of the reformed religion; received his warm protestations of devoted fidelity, reviewed with him the occurrences of the day, and the measures demanded by the occasion, and gave him an especial warning to beware of falling into the hands of the English captain, who was most desirous to get him into his power. So far he was acting the part of a spy in Argall's camp.

Father Biard had thus his secret to keep, as, on the other hand, Argall had his; and in the conflict of their several interests and relations, each, by the law of his position, had, as we conceive, a perfect right, as a lawful stratagem of war, to keep his secret inviolate. To do so implied no more craft or criminality in one, than in the other: each made an instrument of his own secret, — Argall for the purpose of keeping his captives in peaceful submission; Biard, to obtain for them favorable treatment, by exciting, in Argall, apprehensions for the stability of his conquest, and the security of his own party.

The imputations of duplicity and craft cast upon Argall, in connection with this expedition, may be traced to a few insinuations of Father Biard, who may, with equal justice, be condemned for the same fault. The real truth is, that Argall committed no act that was not perfectly justifiable under the circumstances; nor did he resort to any stratagem or manoeuvre but such as would have been approved, and probably adopted, by any judicious and practical person in his place.

La Saussaye's shallop was supplied by Argall with provisions and other articles. Father Biard intimates that the outfit was scanty, but it does not appear that any suffering from want was experienced on the voyage. When the shallop was just ready to put to sea, the pilot, with whom Father Biard was in communication, made his appearance, disguised as an Indian; and, after some little delay in taking an abundance of lobsters from the sea, and liberal presents of birds and fish from the Indians, proceeded in his own shallop, in company with La Saussaye, on the intended voyage. Two or three weeks after, they found two French vessels from St. Malo, in which the whole company were safely conveyed home to that port.

Argall's little squadron, consisting of his own vessel, and the two French prizes, one a ship of one hundred tons, and the other a barque of twelve tons, in the meanwhile shaped its course directly for Virginia, and arrived without accident. The pleasure afforded Argall by a cordial and flattering welcome from the whole community, was dispelled by the truculent threat of Sir Thomas Dale to put all the French prisoners to death. Feelings of mutual esteem and friendship had grown up between Argall and the principal French prisoners, De la Motte, the colonial lieutenant; Flores, captain of the ship; and Father Biard; and besides,

pledges had been given, in various ways, for the safe return of the whole party to France. Argall, therefore, as Father Biard says, came forward generously in their defence. He strenuously endeavored to turn the marshal from his purpose, which he resisted as a violation of the faith pledged by himself in command. Finding his arguments unavailing, and probably with some plausibility contested, by quoting, as against himself, Argall's own language uttered almost immediately after the capture, he frankly avowed the stratagem he had made use of as an expedient of war, and brought forward the papers taken from La Saussaye's trunks. When Sir Thomas Dale saw the authority, given by the King of France, and the resolution displayed by Argall, he forbore all farther proceedings; and a few days later the Frenchmen were assured that faith would be kept with them.

The work of displanting at St. Croix and Port Royal was still to be done. The season was so far advanced that, unless the greatest despatch were made, it would soon be too late for the expedition; and to postpone it to the following spring would expose it to defeat. Accordingly, as soon as the vessels could be unladen and again fitted for sea, Argall took his departure in the "Treasurer," accompanied by the French ship, commanded by William Turnall, Argall's former lieutenant, and the French barque. Captain Flores and four others of the Frenchmen went with Argall; and the two Jesuit Fathers, with their boy attendant, in Turnall's ship. Orders were given to destroy the buildings and fortifications begun at Mount Desert; to hang La Saussaye and the rest of his party, if they should be found in the Island; to take possession of the cargoes of all French vessels met with; but if no resistance had been made, to provide their crews with the means of returning to France, taking with them the eight Frenchmen who were in Argall's squadron.

Argall first visited Mount Desert. Finding no one there, and having burnt the fortifications, thrown down the French cross, and set up an English one with the king's name upon it, he sailed for St. Croix.

Father Biard, having twice visited St. Croix, was requested, as he says, by Argall, to conduct them to the place, which he refused to do; and thereby entirely lost Argall's favor, and put his own life in great danger. After a careful examination of the coast, with the aid of French maps, Argall found his way to the place, burnt the cabins and chapel built there by De Monts, and took away, as prize, what Father Biard vaguely calls a good heap of salt.

After several days lost by Father Biard's steadfast refusal, in trying to find some Indian to pilot him to Port Royal, Argall surprised a chief, well acquainted with the whole country, who conducted the squadron to the entrance of the harbor, two leagues from the habitations. The next morning, about ten or eleven o'clock, the English landed, and found no one in the fort; but there and elsewhere a stock of clothing, utensils, and provisions, as well as horses and cattle. The ordnance, animals, and military stores, with other supplies, found in the fort and magazine, were conveyed to the ships; from the dwellings, every thing of the slightest value, even the locks, bolts, nails, and boards, were taken away. All then remaining was set on fire and consumed.

The fact of Father Biard's refusal to act at all as guide to Argall is contradicted in respect to Port Royal, by the account in Purchas IV. p. 1808, where it is said that "out of the indigestible malice he had conceived for Biencourt," he offered to show Argall the way to Port Royal. It is quite certain, that Biencourt and the French at Port Royal entertained the same opinion; and, according to both accounts, besought Argall to deliver him into their hands, that they might hang him for his treachery.

As his accusers, of course, soon after repeated their story in France, it became to him a matter of life and death to clear his fame from the stains of guilt and infidelity to his country. How far his anxiety to conciliate the favor and good opinion of the French public and his own Jesuit fraternity, for whom he wrote, may have affected the truth of his narrative, it is, at this day, not easy to determine. But in vindication of his innocence, patriotism, and loyalty, among other things, he dwells on an incident which has more personal than historical importance; namely, that by his conversations with Turnall, he persuaded him that the season was too late, and the dangers of the place too great, for proceeding farther with the expedition; and if able to reach Port Royal, nothing would be found, as he himself had seen nothing but poverty, and nothing would be gained but the hatred of the conquered. Turnall,

becoming eager to abandon the enterprise, and to return with all speed to Virginia, in turn urged Argall to adopt his views. But his efforts were vain. On the 1st of November (22d October, N.S.) Argall found his way, without difficulty, into the harbor, and in Port Royal abundant spoils of war. (*L'Escarbot* l. v. cap. 14.) He then reproved his lieutenant for the counsel he had given, as well as for believing the Jesuit; and in consequence, assigned him a smaller share of the booty. This was deeply mortifying to Turnall, who had always been esteemed for his intelligence and practical ability; and we may here add, in detail, that he spoke good French, and many other modern languages, besides Greek and Latin, which he knew very well, and having a powerful intellect, had improved it by much study. Considering himself deceived by Father Biard, he regarded him with a strong aversion, which continued unabated for a time, and was much increased, primarily, by the assertions of Bien-court, and next, by the written declaration of him and five or six others, that the reverend Father was a Spaniard by birth, and having committed crimes in France, had been compelled to become a fugitive; that he had also been guilty of scandalous misconduct at Port Royal, and only waited an opportunity to do something worse to the English. Even the master of Argall's ship, whom Father Biard calls a malicious, smooth-faced Puritan, joined in the outcry, and conjured both Argall and Turnall to turn the Jesuit ashore without food, as he had done his best to prevent the English from obtaining any.

But Argall, "who," says Father Biard, "is a man of a noble heart," was proof against all the arguments of the English, and the malicious artifices of the French. The more strongly they pressed their point, that the Father should be left ashore to his fate, the more firmly did Argall withhold his consent; for he felt that his compliance would be a dishonor and a breach of faith and justice.

The reverend Father expatiates upon his own patience and forgiving spirit, under all his wrongs; and especially, as displayed in his repeated intercessions with Argall, even on his knees, for ameliorating the condition of his persecutors. He contents himself with holding them up, as awful examples of human depravity, and self-devoted, irrecoverable slaves of Satan.

The English vessels left Port Royal for Virginia on the 9th of November. Two days after they were dispersed by a violent storm. The barque, with six Englishmen in her, was never heard of afterwards. Argall's ship arrived safe, having, probably, on his way, touched at the Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island, and received its submission. Turnall's ship, after being driven out of her course for sixteen days, regained it, and approached, as was supposed, within sixty or seventy miles of her port, when she was again blown out to sea by a furious south-west storm, and compelled to bear away for the Azores. The water falling short, the horses on board were killed, and their flesh was much liked by the Jesuits.

After three weeks' stay at Fayal, having obtained supplies, the ship was put on her course for England, arrived at Milford Haven in January, 1614; and her provisions, while there, being entirely consumed, the captain was obliged to take her to Pembroke. Having an English crew and a French ship, and no commission as captain, he was at that place arrested on suspicion of being a pirate. But, by the testimony of the Jesuits and others, showing that he was under the command of his captain, Argall, when separated from him by unavoidable accident, he was released.

Argall left Virginia again for England, in June, 1614. Sir Thomas Dale, who wrote, on the 18th of that month, to his reverend friend in Fenchurch, London, sent the letter by Argall, whom he calls "this worthy gentleman." In it he also recounts the services of Argall, in forming a league of peace and friendship with Powhatan, and another soon after with the Chickahominies, who thought that the friendship of the English allies of Powhatan would be their best protection against his hostility.

Argall carried with him Captain Flores and two others of the French prisoners. He had previously, with great difficulty, as Father Biard relates, prevailed on Sir Thomas Dale to permit the *Sieur de la Motte* to take passage in a Bermuda vessel for England, where he had arrived in safety. Flores arrived just in time to learn that his ship was restored, and to resume command of her.

Such was the humane and friendly conduct of Argall, on all occasions, towards his prisoners, that Father Biard says of him, "Certainly, the said Argall has shown himself such,

that we have reason to wish, for his sake, that he may henceforth serve a better cause, and where the nobleness of his heart may be displayed in befriending, and not in injuring, worthy people."

It was probably on his passage from Port Royal to Virginia, that he visited the Amsterdam Company's new settlement at Manhattan. Three years before, Sir Noel Caron, Ambassador of the States at the Court of Great Britain, had proposed that the Dutch should be joined with the English in Virginia, as a measure promising greater security from the hostile interference of Spain; and Sir Thomas Gates, in December, 1610, was appointed to confer with the States-General on the subject. But the English government, being apprehensive, if the union were on equal terms, that the art and industry of their allies would eventually supersede their own, nothing was effected by the conference beyond the implied denial of any right, on the part of the Dutch, to occupy places within the chartered limits of Virginia, North and South. Under the circumstances, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that Sir Thomas Gates ordered Argall's visit to Manhattan. (III. Winwood, p. 239.)

A year after Argall left his government in Virginia, he served in the expedition, under Sir Robert Mansel, against Algiers, as captain of the "*Golden Phoenix*," one of the stoutest of the twelve merchant ships in the fleet; of three hundred tons, carrying one hundred and twenty men, and forty iron guns. He was also one of the members of the council of war. The other six were the three admirals and three captains, and each of the six in command of a king's ship. The fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of October, 1620, and, without having rendered any service to the nation, was recalled when on its way home, on the 9th of the following August. This fleet suffered much for want of pay, and of proper supplies. (Lord Herbert's Life, ed. 1824, p. 20; Eng. Dom. St. Pap., 1621, vol. lxxvi.; II. Purch. p. 881.)

In 1621 three Holland ships were on the point of sailing for the trading ports in the New Netherlands. To put an end to all such proceedings of the Dutch within the charter limits of the Virginias, Argall joined, with three other distinguished champions of English colonization, the Earl of Arundel, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain Mason, in a complaint and remonstrance to the king. His Majesty accordingly instructed his ambassador, Sir Dudley Carleton, to request the States-General to stop the ships, and to forbid the intrusion of their subjects into his American territory.

The States-General, in reply to the Ambassador's application, said that they knew nothing of the enterprise complained of. This was very probable, for the ambassador, upon further inquiry, ascertained and certified to the king, that it was only two companies of Amsterdam merchants, who, without the knowledge or advice of the Lords States-General, had begun to occupy, within the prohibited limits, places to which they had given the name of New Netherlands. (Brodhead, New York Document, I. p. 58.)

The stand taken by the king on this occasion, displays a determination to maintain undisturbed possession of the whole territory within the charter limits, and is in itself a complete justification and virtual approval of Argall's removal of the French, and subjugation of the Dutch, in 1613.

Five years later, in the war with Spain, Argall had the command, as Admiral for the time, of twenty-four English, and four Dutch ships, with which he left Plymouth on the 6th of September, 1625, in search of eighteen Dunkirkers, reported to be making their way to Spain, close along the French coast. One of them was hailed; but before any of them could be brought to action, they managed to take refuge in the port of Dunkirk. Argall, however, had the satisfaction of preventing their junction with the home squadrons of Spain, and, moreover, of capturing and sending in seven Spanish vessels, valued at £100,000. But in the hope that their value would be found to exceed this estimate, — it being suspected that money was concealed in the sacks of wool on board, — the king sent the Duke of Buckingham to search the cargoes. As the duke soon after made his ordinary payments in Spanish coin, it may be presumed that his search was successful. (II. Purch. p. 882; I. Birch, Charles I. p. 52.)

Argall's squadron, on returning to Plymouth, joined the fleet fitting out for the attack of Cadiz, making it, in all, eighty sail. Sir Edward Cecil, who was created Lord Wimbleton on the occasion, was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the land and naval

forces. The Earl of Essex, son of the favorite and victim of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards distinguished as General-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces, was made Vice-Admiral of the fleet, and Colonel-General of the troops. Both of these officers had served with credit as commanders of regiments in the cause of the States-General.

Lord Essex's sense of the professional merits of Argall was manifested by selecting the "Surprise," of which Argall was captain, as his flag-ship. She had two hundred and fifty men; the complement, in those days, of a ship of six hundred tons, and forty brass guns.

The fleet went to sea on the 8th of October, four days after was dispersed by a storm; and fifty of the ships, for a week, were missing, and unable to reach Cape St. Vincents, the appointed rendezvous, before the 19th. By a council of war held there on that day, it was decided to attack Cadiz without delay. The fleet entered the bay of Cadiz on the 22d, and the next day, Argall, by order of Lord Essex, with twenty English, and five Dutch ships, bore down upon seventeen Spanish ships, and eight or ten galleys, riding under the town, with a design to fire them. The Spaniards avoided the attack, by flying, under a press of canvas, to Port Real, at the extremity of the Bay of Puntal.

Lord Essex then ordered the guns of the ships to be turned upon the Fort San Lorenzo. After expending about two thousand shot with little apparent effect, the cannonade was stopped, and Sir John Burroughs ordered to take ashore several thousand troops to attack the fort. The garrison was quickly dislodged, and the assailants took possession of the fort. Attempts, in which Argall took a part, were then made, with slight success, to enter the town. The fortifications were too strong and complete to yield to an irregular body of sailors and soldiers, without even scaling-ladders. The next day, an alarm being given of the enemy approaching, the troops were drawn out; and, being faint and without provisions, wine was supplied them, by order, it was said, from headquarters, in such abundance that they became so utterly unmanageable as to make it indispensable to re-embark them and abandon the fort.

Argall, having reconnoitred the town, reported that it was too strongly fortified to be taken, except by a regular siege; and that the Spanish fleet in the Bay of Puntal was inaccessible. Now, as no provision had been made for carrying on a siege, or even for taking and retaining the two Puntales, the Forts Matagordo and San Lorenzo, which, by their cross-fire, command the entrance of the Bay of Puntal, it was agreed to cruise off Cape St. Vincents for the Plate fleet. This was done for twenty days. In the interim, some of the crews being much weakened by a contagious disease, it was ordered that every well ship should give up two sound men, and receive on board two sick ones, by which process the infection spread through the whole fleet to such a degree, that hardly hands enough were left to manage the sails; and Lord Wimbleton was forced to set sail for home four days before the Plate fleet arrived off Cadiz. The English fleet returned to Plymouth in December, and soon after Lord Essex and nine other officers of distinction exhibited charges against Lord Wimbleton, which he answered at length, by endeavoring to throw on them the blame of his ill success. But his want of naval experience, and the disinclination of his officers to comply with his arbitrary and ill-considered orders, probably had much to do in defeating the expedition. (I. Rashworth, p. 195; Baker Chr. p. 453; Eng. Dom. St. Papers, 1625, vols. vi., vii., viii., ix., xix., xxxi.; Molineux, Conj. Exped. p. 43, 44.)

The merchant ships in the fleet having been ill supplied and badly paid, the masters, after waiting in vain for some weeks, in the hope of relief from the king, manifested great unwillingness to serve any longer. Among them the master of the "Swiftsure" was "very backward," and "very cross" to his captain, Sir Samuel Argall, "which," said Captain John Pennington, in his letter of the 28th of January, 1626, to the Duke of Buckingham, "broke his heart, and four days after he died." (Eng. Dom. St. Pap. vol. xix., Charles I.)

Our notice of Argall may seem to be extended to an undue length. But all accounts of him extant are extremely meagre, and some of them unwarrantable misrepresentations of his deeds and character. We felt it, therefore, to be a duty, not only to bring into view such additional facts and incidents in his career as could be obtained from various sources, but also to enter into full and detailed explanations, in order to rescue, as far as we could, the memory of one of the most able, useful, and faithful servants of the colony of Virginia from the unmerited dishonor that had been unwittingly or malevolently cast upon it.

Those actions of Argall which have, latterly, been most acrimoniously condemned, met, originally, with almost universal praise and admiration from his countrymen. The complaints of the company, and their suit at law, may seem to weigh against him. It may be urged, that such good and wise men as Sir Edwin Sandys, the two Ferrars, and others of the council, would never have denounced him if he were not guilty. But it must be remembered that they, not having been in the colony, were constrained to rely upon statements got up for interested purposes by artful and vindictive men who had resided there for years; and were, therefore, the more able, especially in the absence of the accused, to give whatever version they chose of his conduct. But at the November meeting, six months after Argall's return to London, Sir Edwin Sandys did not venture, on the strength of Yeardley's accusations, to charge Argall with the alleged misdeeds; but only intimated, loosely, that "he doubted not but that *hereafter*, in *due* time, they would be made fully manifest; but that he forbore, at present, to touch upon them, lest he should by any glance of speech give offence to any person present," — meaning Argall. This extraordinary deference towards Argall shows that Sir Edwin did not believe him to be the malefactor which Sir Edwin's own supporters had represented him. On the other hand, Argall, with the boldness of innocence, always challenged investigation; and the suit against him, at the end of four years, came to nothing. (Stith, pp. 151, 164.)

The chief manager of the conspiracy against Argall was Captain Yeardley. His personal aim was to displace a rival, and to succeed him in office; and in the furtherance of his views he was under slight restraint from elevated or honorable sentiments. His eagerness and ardor were quickened by the news of Lord De la Warre's death, which opened to him the prospect of a higher appointment than he had previously contemplated. Within three weeks from the day when that sad event was first known in London, he prevailed on the Treasurer and Council to nominate him as Governor and Captain-General of Virginia, at the next quarterly court. The nomination, being duly approved at that court, was finally confirmed at the quarterly court (Hilary), held on the 1st of February, 1619. (I. Burke, p. 819; Eng. St. Pap. Dom. vol. ciii., James I.)

His general conduct in London in the two preceding years, and especially his machinations for the ruin of Argall, had not escaped observation; nor was it hardly possible they should do so.

London, in its greatest extent, was, at that period, comparatively a small community, (probably of about 150,000 inhabitants), where the character and conduct of each one was well known to all others of the circle in which he moved. The opinion formed of Yeardley was not more favorable to his character than the mercenary acts ascribed to him by Smith. (pp. 120, 158; Stith, pp. 204, 236, 242; Sir W. Petty's *Traits*, p. 107.)

John Chamberlain, who, as a professional intelligencer, was thoroughly conversant with the events, current opinions, and conspicuous persons of the day, in a letter of the 28th of November, gives Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador at the Hague, this item of news: "Captain Yardley, a mean fellow, knighted, and is going out to Virginia, as Governor." We may here mention, that Sir Dudley had a letter of the same date from John Pory, who says in it, "I am offered the Secretaryship for Virginia, by means of Sir George Yardley, the newly elected Governor, but will not accept it without outfit, as well as allowance." (Eng. St. Pap. Dom. vol. ciii., A.D. 1618.)

This proves the truth of the opinion maintained above (p. 17), that Pory did not owe his secretaryship to the favor of the Earl of Warwick; and, likewise, that his predecessor, Rolfe, was not superseded for the reasons alleged by Stith, but because the new Governor preferred Pory.

Beyond the few incidents noticed in Smith and Strachey, little has been recorded of the personal history of either Sir Thomas Gates, or Sir Thomas Dale. A few particulars will now be mentioned, which are not contained in Belknap's "*American Biography*," nor, we believe, elsewhere, in a collective form.

The earliest account we have of Sir Thomas Gates is that, in the expedition of 1596 against Cadiz, he served under Lord Essex; and, in June of that year, was knighted by him for meritorious services. Like his commander, and many others of his military countrymen, he had, probably, already borne a commission in some one of the English regiments em-

ployed by the States-General in the war against Spain; and, most likely, retained it after his return from Cadiz.

In July, 1604, on his way to the Netherlands, he was with Sir Henry Wotton, who was proceeding to Venice, having been, shortly before, appointed ambassador at that place. Sir Henry gave him a letter of introduction to Sir Ralph Winwood, in which he said, "I entreat you to love him" (Sir Thomas), "and to love me too, and to assure yourself that you cannot love two honester men." (II. Winwood, p. 24.)

In November, 1606, he and his fellow-Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Dale, were in garrison together in Oudewater, a small city in South Holland, on the little Issel, and the birthplace of the celebrated James Arminius, whose mother, brothers, and sisters were murdered there by the Spaniards, when they captured, pillaged, and burnt the city in 1575. (Brodhead, I. New York Docum. p. 2; Chalm. Biog. Dict. art. Arminius; Gazetteer of Netherlands, art. Oudewater.)

In April, 1608, he petitioned the Lords States-General for leave of absence, which was granted him for one year, on condition that he should supply his company with good officers and soldiers for the public service. From the language of the States' Resolution it appears, that the special occasion for his absence was, that he, "with three other gentlemen," had been "commissioned by the king to command, in the country of Virginia, in colonizing the said country." The next year, his voyage to Virginia, after sundry delays, finally commenced from Falmouth, on the 8th of June. His own vessel, the Admiral ship "Sea-Adventure," was driven on the rocks of Bermuda by a furious storm, which dispersed the fleet. Only seven vessels out of nine, and those in a shattered condition, arrived in Virginia. The "Sea-Adventure" sprung aleak, and was barely saved from sinking at sea, by the constant labor of the men on board at the pumps, or the bucket, for three days and four nights, in which the Governor and the Admiral took their turns with the rest. (New York Docum. *ut supra*; IV. Purch. p. 1733-37.)

In Smith (p. 175), Gates and Somers are represented as having been at such variance that "they lived asunder," at Bermuda, "rather as mere strangers, than as distressed friends." From which of the narrators named at the head of his account of the wreck, Smith took this account, we know not. But neither Strachey, nor the author, of "News from the Barmudas," both of whom were there at the time, gives any intimation of such misunderstanding. They lived asunder, to be sure; and we suspect, that the difference was inferred solely from that circumstance. But the narrative of Strachey shows, that they did live, although apart, as friends, and not as mere strangers. Sir George Somers employed himself and his sailors daily, for three months after landing, in fishing and hunting, to provide food, not for his own party merely, but for the whole company. For this purpose, it was more convenient, and almost unavoidable, that he should be stationed on the shore of the main island, where alone the swine were to be found, and where, with the advantage of a quiet and safe harbor, he could obtain supplies of fish and game as readily as at any other point. On all occasions referred to by either of the two authors just mentioned, there appears to be no want of concert between the chiefs. When Somers asked for ship-carpenters and men to assist them in building his boat, they were instantly furnished by Gates. The whole tenor of the letter of Gates to Somers, recited by Strachey, indicates the most amiable feeling on the part of the writer. It contains, besides, a touching appeal to the "ancient love and friendship which had been these many years settled between them;" on the strength of which Gates urges Somers "to do his best to convince the conspirators, who had fled from the latter, of their errors, that they might be pardoned and not punished;" a request which Somers most nobly and heartily carried into effect. (IV. Purch. p. 1744-46; II. Hubbard's Belknap, p. 116; Stith, p. 115; Smith, Va. pp. 174, 175.)

In 1610, Sir Thomas Gates was sent from Virginia by Lord De la Warre to London, for supplies. The Treasurer and Council at that period, disheartened by the ill success which attended all attempts to make the enterprise a lucrative one, doubted whether it were not best to abandon it altogether. In this exigency, they called Sir Thomas Gates before them and adjured him to give them, plainly, a true account of the real condition and prospects of the colony. His report, on oath, describing the nature, productions, and advantages of the territory, revived the hopes of the Council, and saved the infant colony.

It was in this same year that he revisited the Netherlands to confer with the States-General on the propositions of Sir Noel Caron, as previously mentioned. He probably, at this time, obtained an extension of his leave of absence. (III. Winwood, p. 239.)

In the following March, 1611, Sir Thomas Dale was despatched from England with a year's supply, in three ships, for the colony. About three months later, Sir Thomas Gates followed him, with six ships, carrying three hundred men, and ample supplies of cattle, swine, provisions, and other necessities. (IV. Purch. 1768, 1767; Hamor, p. 50.)

Sir Thomas Gates was accompanied by his lady and their two daughters, Margaret and Elizabeth, and he was looking forward to the enjoyment of their society in the new colony, when, in passing through the West Indies, his dream of domestic happiness was brought to an end by the death of Lady Gates. Being, in consequence, under the necessity of sending his daughters back to England, he proceeded, thus doubly bereaved, on his way to the seat of his government. (I. Birch, James, p. 154; Eng. Dom. St. Pap. vol. cccxlvi.iii., A.D. 1637.)

Soon after his arrival, his spiritual teacher and the companion of his voyage, the Rev. Mr. Glover, died at Jamestown, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the season and place. Mr. Glover was a graduate of Cambridge, and an approved preacher. He was somewhat advanced in years, and independent in his circumstances. His death deprived Sir Thomas Gates of a friend, and of the consolations of a friend, when most needed. (Campbell, Va. p. 105.)

Doctor Belknap, in his life of Lord De la Warre, adverting to the treaty with the Chickahomines, says, "Though this transaction passed while Sir Thomas Gates was at the head of the government, and residing in the colony, yet nothing is said of his assenting to it, or giving any orders about it;" and he then takes occasion to remark that "Dale appears to have been the most active and enterprising man." The whole passage would give the impression that Gates was not only the least active and enterprising of the two, but was, also, supine, and neglectful of his official duties. Neither of these conclusions, however true they may be, will find any real support in the doctor's premised statement, in which his wonted accuracy appears to have failed him. Sir Thomas Gates was not, as the doctor supposes, in the colony when the treaty was made with the Chickahomines. That treaty was posterior to the league with Powhatan; and we have Sir Thomas Dale's own word for it, that he did not set out for Pamunky, Powhatan's residence, till after Sir Thomas Gates had embarked for England. (IV. Purch. p. 1769; II. Hubbard's Belknap, p. 142.)

Sir Thomas Gates was, by no means, inattentive to the proper duties of his station. Argall, in his letter to Hawes, describes his government as discreet and provident, and incidentally refers to various occasions on which he was evidently the acting, and not a merely nominal, chief magistrate. The execution of measures ordered by him, being naturally very often intrusted to his old and valued comrade, Sir Thomas Dale, brought the latter so much more frequently and more conspicuously into public observation, that contemporary as well as later writers style him Governor, while he was only Marshal of the colony. If, however, as was very possible in the beginning of his administration, Sir Thomas Gates felt disposed to throw off, upon others, the burden of his official care and labors, it was, doubtless, owing to his recent family afflictions. At a later period, he might also have found it awkward to withdraw his delegated authority from an old friend of so ardent and impetuous a temperament as Sir Thomas Dale. But the duties of his official position were not so unwelcome as to be shunned by him; for, early in 1618, soon after an attack of gout, he declared his intention to follow his chief, Lord De la Warre, and to resume his post in Virginia in the following summer. But after his lordship's departure, no ship, in which Sir Thomas could take passage, was sent out before news came to London of his lordship's death; and, twenty days later, the Treasurer and Council decided to appoint Captain Yeordeley as Captain-General and Governor. (Eng. Dom. St. Pap. vol. xciv., A.D. 1617; IV. Birch, James, p. 63.)

Some time after Sir Thomas's return, in 1614, to England, he repaired to the Netherlands, mainly for the purpose of obtaining the arrears of his pay; and was favored by the States-General with immediate payment of the whole amount-accrued during his absence. As the United Provinces had little occasion for foreign troops during their twelve years' truce with Spain, it is to be presumed that, at this period, he resigned his commission in their service.

Stith, in rehearsing a speech of Captain John Smith in 1621, says (p. 191), that he went afterwards to the East Indies, and died there; but assigns no authority for the statement. From a list of shareholders in the English State Paper Office, it appears that, in 1623, fifty great shares, or five thousand acres of land in the colony, stood in his name as owner.

Captain Gates, the son of Sir Thomas, served in the expedition of 1626 to Cadiz, and the next year, at the Isle of Rhé and Rochelle. At the latter place he lost his life by a cannon-shot. Ten years after, his sisters petitioned the Privy Council to order payment to them of the arrears due on his account; and the Lord Treasurer was instructed, by order of Council, to sign an order to that effect. They alleged that they were "destitute of means to relieve their wants, or to convey themselves to Virginia, where their father,* Sir Thomas Gates, Governor of *that Isle*, died, and left his estate in the hands of persons who had ever since detained the same." It is highly improbable that Sir Thomas died in Virginia, and the place of his death is only to be ascertained by future research. (I. Brodhead, New York Docum. p. 16; Eng. Dom. St. Pap., A.D. 1637, vol. ccclxviii.)

Of the early history of Sir Thomas Dale, as little is known as of that of Sir Thomas Gates. The first step in his eventful life of which we have any account, is that, following the example of many of his gallant young countrymen, early in 1588, he enlisted as a private soldier in the service of the United Provinces. In 1617 he reminded the States-General that, "first as soldier, and last as captain," he then had served their Commonwealth thirty years. (I. New York Docum. *ut supra*, p. 18.)

At this period, Doctor Valentine Dale, previously ambassador at Vienna, and subsequently, with Sir Julius Cæsar, Judge *ad interim* of the High Court of Admiralty, was appointed by Elizabeth one of the commissioners for treating with the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, for effecting a peace between the United Provinces and Spain. Both having the same surname, and visiting the Netherlands at the same time, it may reasonably be surmised that the Admiralty Doctor and Thomas Dale were connected by family ties, and that the visit of the latter was a matter of family concert. The education of Thomas Dale, as appears from his letters, and various circumstances and incidents in his career, as well as from the character and standing of his circle of friends and acquaintances, were such as would be quite suitable to the condition of a son of the Doctor. (II. Motley, chap. xviii. p. 359.)

After seven years of service as a private, Dale was sent to Scotland, probably in the suite of the Dutch ambassadors, who were to attend the baptism of Prince Henry. He was well qualified to render these foreign worthies very useful and acceptable services, as interpreter, and in various other capacities.

The anxiety of the States to conciliate the favor of the sovereign expectant of England and Ireland, and to forestall that of his infant son and heir, was evinced in the nature and extraordinary value of the presents they made on this occasion. A box of solid gold, containing an obligation, written on parchment, in letters of gold, for the annual payment to Prince Henry of five thousand florins, was accompanied with several large golden cups; of which two were so heavy, that James Melville, at the end of his Memoirs, says, it was with difficulty that he lifted and placed them on the table. He adds, that these rare articles, which ought to have been preserved for posterity, were soon melted down, and devoted to other purposes; probably, to meet the king's expenses, and the arrears of his servants' pay, as well as to gratify the cupidity of those who persuaded the king to destroy these works of art, that they might get a share of their reduced value. (I. New York Docum. p. 18; J. Melville, Mem. p. 622.)

With the Dutch ambassadors, it would be a matter of course that they should have in their train, persons of known courage and fidelity, for the better security of the articles of great value intrusted to their care; and, likewise, such as were familiar with the language and customs of the country. These qualifications were all concentrated in Dale, and would naturally make him originally the choice of the ambassadors, and, afterwards of King James, when apprehensive of plots to take from him the keeping and control of his son and heir. The young prince was baptized at Stirling, and remained in Stirling Castle, in the custody of the Earl of Mar, for the first nine years of his life. The queen was deeply afflicted at

this separation from her son, and as deeply offended, when she found that neither entreaties nor stratagems for restoring him to her arms, were of any avail. James believed that his own safety depended on his retention of the prince; and if the latter were taken out of the hands of the Earl of Mar, that his own life would depend on the will of his enemies. We do not know the particular duties attached to the station in which Dale was placed. We may be sure that they were not menial, nor incompatible with the feelings and habits of a gentleman; but from what has been said above, and from King James's constantly dwelling on the courage and valor of Dale, whenever he mentioned him, we may presume that he was held responsible, to some extent, for the security of the prince against any attempt for his abduction. To accustom the heir presumptive of the English throne to the English accent and language from his infancy, might, also, be one of the incidental advantages counted on in employing Dale. He was, besides, well qualified to train up the prince in all the sports and modes of exercise that were conducive to his health or amusement. His conduct in his place gained him the public approbation of the king, and many proofs of deep and indelible attachment from the prince. (I. Sidney, *Mem. of State*. p. 352; Birch's *Prince Henry*, pp. 2, 31; *Scotch St. Papers*, 1594, vol. liii., July 19-23.)

In 1603, on the accession of James to the throne of England, the court was removed to London; and it became necessary to make an entire change in each of the establishments of the royal family. Dale's services were no longer needed; and, without pretensions to any rank above that of a gentleman, serving as a private soldier, he had no claim to any eligible station in the prince's retinue; and, if unaided, would be constrained to return to his humble routine of military duty in the Netherlands. After his service near the prince, this would be felt as a degradation. It was almost inevitable that he should desire promotion, and that the prince, who was "a sure anchor to his friends," should earnestly second his wishes. But there were obstacles in the way of accomplishing this by direct means. King James was unfriendly to the cause of the United Provinces. He had just treated their envoys with cold reserve; had called the Dutch rebels; and was bent on making a separate treaty with their enemy, Philip the Third. Hence, he was unwilling to ask favors of the States-General. But their great friend, Henry the Fourth, had no such scruples; but, on the other hand, being extremely anxious to persuade King James to join with him in a treaty for aiding the Dutch, by supplies of troops and money, in their war with Spain, he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of forwarding his own purpose, by such an act of courtesy as recommending a meritorious and favorite servant of King James's son and heir for promotion. On his recommendation, the States-General, on the 1st of August, 1603, commissioned Dale, provisionally, as captain of the infantry company of Captain Condegrave (? Comte de Grave). Soon after this, he received a permanent commission in the English forces, under the command in chief of Sir Francis Vere. At this period, in consequence of the cold and ambiguous policy of King James, and the consequent inactivity of Henry the Fourth, and of the refusal of both to make open war with them against Spain, the Dutch had become distrustful of both sovereigns. Sir Francis Vere, the English general, felt that he was no longer treated with the same respect and confidence as previously. His power and authority being confined within new and narrower limits, his position became so irksome as to induce him to repair to London for the purpose of obtaining the absolute command of the English and Scotch auxiliary troops. His visit created apprehensions that the English officers and soldiers, who naturally shared in the discontent of their chief, would experience hard treatment from the States-General. (*Monmouth Mem.* p. 177; *Eng. Dom. St. Pap.*, 1604, vol. vi. § 21; *Sully Mem.* chap. 15, 16; *II. Winwood*, pp. 10, 175, 176; *Motley*, IV. pp. 199, 200; *I. New York Docum.* p. 1; *Ellis's Original Histor. Letters*, 2d Series, vol. iii. p. 206.)

At this moment, Prince Henry, in the steadfastness of his friendship, prevailed upon his father to interpose his good offices for the protection of Dale. Accordingly, at the King's instance, a letter was written on the 29th of March, 1604, by Lord Cecil to Winwood, English ambassador at the Hague, to inform him of the king's "gracious opinion of the merit of Captain Dale, both for having been a valiant and long servitor" (of Prince Henry), "and for having, for the most part, resided at his own charge." Lord Cecil adds, "His Majesty commanded me to acquaint you so much, to the intent, that in the alterations and removes

of places among the companies, where he is one, he may be respected, both for his own merit and his master's [Prince Henry's] recommendation, who is persuaded of his honesty and sufficiency. (II. Winwood, p. 18.)

Dale retained his post in the army of the Netherlands; but where he was employed in the succeeding two and a half years, does not appear. In November, 1606, he was, as already mentioned, with Captain Sir Thomas Gates in garrison at Oudewater, nearly a hundred miles from the actual seat of war. (I. New York Docum. p. 2.)

When Sir Thomas revisited Holland in 1610, he probably inspired his old comrade Dale with an irrepressible desire to try his fortune in the New World, by giving him as favorable a representation of the condition and prospects of the colony in Virginia, as had a few weeks before induced the Treasurer and Council to continue and support it. For, early in January, 1611, the English Ambassador, Winwood, on the recommendation of Dale's constant friend, Prince Henry, asked the States-General to grant Dale leave of absence for three years, as the king of Great Britain required his services in Virginia. The States, on the 20th, gave their consent; and ordered that his company should, meanwhile, remain vacant, to be resumed by him, if he thought proper; but that his pay, during his absence, should cease. Five days after, Winwood urged the States to revoke their stoppage of the pay; but they refused. A similar effort, in which he was joined with the English General, Sir Francis Vere, Governor of the Brille, and Conway, his lieutenant, met, on the 9th of February, with the same ill success. Holland had made a long truce with Spain; and, having little occasion, had less desire, for military expenditure. (IV. Purchas, p. 1758; I. New York Docum. pp. 1-3.)

Five weeks later, Dale was on the seas, bound to Virginia, bearing with him a commission for life as High Marshal of the colony, and in actual command of three ships, laden with supplies, and three hundred emigrants. The men and provisions sent out were of the vilest description. Dale complained bitterly of both in a letter which he addressed to Lord Salisbury on the 11th of the following August. Immediately after his arrival, on the 12th of May, to provide as far as possible against the consequences of the settlers' neglect to plant corn in season, he employed all hands at Kicquotan, in planting; and, although the season was nearly past, secured a moderate crop of good corn. He lost no time in repairing next to Jamestown. Finding it a nest of idlers and players at bowls, he set them all to work in felling trees, repairing their ruinous houses, and preparing materials for the stockade of his intended new town. His next step was to discover a proper site for the town. He first examined the banks of the Nansemond, in spite of the bands of hostile Indians that infested his path; and then, turning up the James as far as the Falls, he finally selected an elevated and defensible place in Varina Neck (Dutch Gap), on Farrar's Island. (Hamor, pp. 26-33; IV. Purchas, p. 1767.)

While taking these preliminary measures for carrying out his favorite project, he did not lose sight of general interests of the colony, or of the imperative necessity of providing for both its extension and security, by curbing the hostile power of Powhatan. He made a careful examination of the country between the river and the possessions of the savage chief, and framed, in his own mind, the plan mentioned previously (page 5), which, on the 11th of August, after the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates to take the reins of government, he communicated to Lord Salisbury. Had his lordship's life been spared, the plan would probably have been carried, at least partially, into effect. But for two years after his death, the king kept the administration, especially of the expenditures, chiefly in his own hands, and seldom found more revenue than he wished, or was obliged, to expend at home. The colony, meanwhile, continued to suffer by a sacrifice of lives, and by a constant obstruction to its labor and prosperity, until, by Argall's capture of Pocahontas, Powhatan was brought to terms and a lasting peace. (Hamor and Purchas, *ut supra*; Birch Neg. p. 346.)

Dale's project of founding a new city met with the warm approval of Sir Thomas Gates, who furnished him with three hundred and fifty men to put it immediately in execution. This was shortly effected, so as to afford the little community comfort, security, and more public and private advantages of a civilized municipality, than had ever before been enjoyed in the new country. Dale, in honor of his royal friend and patron, Prince Henry, gave his new city the name of Henrico. This compliment from the old servant of his early years must

have been gratifying to the prince, who appears, from all accounts, to have been not only steadfast in his attachments, but also an early, active, and ardent friend of the colony. In the outset of the enterprise, in 1606, his gunner, Robert Tindal, went to Virginia in Newport's little squadron. He went up the James River to Powhatan's town and the Falls, probably with Kendal, Newport, and Smith, soon after landing; and, in the summer of 1607, sent to the prince his journal and a drawing — probably the earliest ever made — of James River. (Birch's *Life of Prince Henry*, p. 90.)

Tindal, after returning to England, came out to the colony early in July, 1609, master of "Cornelius's small barke" (note, pp. 4, 5); and the next year, in the same capacity on board the "De la Warre," in which vessel Lord De la Warre made his outward and homeward passage. In each of these vessels, he served under the command of Argall. We have no account of him after this period. The prince's death, which took place on the 6th of November, 1612, to the universal grief of the nation, must have changed his prospects, as well as those of Dale and the colony. Dale, in his letter of June 18, 1614, in Purchas (IV. p. 1768), says, "My glorious master is gone, that would have enamelled with his favors the labors I undertake for God's cause, and his immortal honor. He was the great captain of our Israel; the hope to have builded up this heavenly new Jerusalem — he interred, — I think the whole frame of this business fell into his grave: for most men's forward (at least, seeming so) desires are quenched; and Virginia stands in desperate hazard."

Farther on in the same letter, he intimates that the same despondency was felt by the best men in the colony, who were generally anxious to return home; and by their friends in England, who incessantly entreated them to come away. His own stay in the colony was prolonged, because, as he says, "here is no one that the people would have govern them but myself;" and "I knew not on whom to confer the care of this business in my absence. Whom I thought fit was generally distasted." He reluctantly decided to remain, although his promised term had expired, and his sovereign had warranted his return, lest "through the factions, humors, mutinies, or indiscretions of the chiefs left behind, all should fall to ruin."

At this period the Company obtained temporary relief to the amount of twenty-nine thousand pounds, from a lottery. This was soon exhausted; and the Company's means ultimately became so insufficient, that, during nearly the whole of Argall's administration, the colony remained almost destitute of such ordinary and indispensable supplies as would protect them from the inclemency of the weather, and the hostility of the Indians. (Smith's *Va.* p. 119; Chalmers's *Annals*, pp. 32, 33; Campbell, p. 116.)

Early in 1612 the colonial joint-stock came to an end. It was created and limited to a term of five years, by the royal instructions of November, 1606, which directed that all the fruits of labor in the colony, and all goods and commodities from England, or elsewhere, should be brought to the public magazine or storehouse, and subsequently be issued out to the inhabitants. (Stith, p. 39.)

The system of working for the benefit of the whole community, wanting the stimulus of private gain, had led to improvidence, idleness, and every practicable evasion of labor. Consequently, the corn produced was never sufficient to meet the necessities of the colonists. When the supplies from England were lost at sea, in 1609, a frightful mortality, caused by starvation, swept away nine-tenths of the population. At the time the joint-stock ceased, in 1612, the provisions brought out by the respective squadrons of Dale and Gates had been condemned as unfit for food; little or no corn could be obtained from the Indians, nor any relief from the harvest before September. In the interval, the universal suffering for want of food was intense; and, in some cases, was aggravated by an unsparing exaction of labor in the public works then in progress. To escape from so intolerable a condition, some, and among them worthy men, attempted to flee to the Spaniards, to the Indians, or over sea, in boats, to England; others were driven to the commission of crimes and misdeeds, which could not be checked or repressed, except by such severe and cruel punishments as can be vindicated only by the absolute necessity of the case, and as in accordance with the spirit of an age in which torture, and equally cruel punishments were ordinarily inflicted in England and throughout Europe. (Stith, pp. 122, 123; Smith's *Va.* p. 111; Chalmers's *Revolt*, pp. 9, 10; Hamor, p. 27.)

To guard against a recurrence of scarcity and famine, Sir Thomas Dale wisely provided a wider field and more ample security for agricultural labor, by new settlements at Bermuda Hundred and elsewhere, on fertile and elevated ground, protected by empalements and other stronger works of defence against Indian, or even foreign assaults. While engaged in these and other public works, the hard fare and hard tasks emboldened some of the sufferers, most likely at the suggestion of Sir Thomas Dale, "to petition Sir Thomas Gates to allow them to employ themselves in husbandry, that thereby they and all others might be better fed than they could be by supplies from England." The Governor refused to comply with their request unless they would pay the yearly rent of three bushels of corn and one month's work (31 days), to the colony. They considered these terms particularly rigorous, because many of them had been employed in general works and services from the beginning of the plantation. Still, they accepted "these hard terms of tenantry," as they said, "rather than continue in the general services and employment, no way better than slavery." At a later period, the corn rent was reduced to two and a half barrels, equal to twelve and a half bushels English; and it was agreed that the month of labor for the colony should not be exacted, either in seed time or harvest. (Hamor, p. 17; Purchas IV. p. 1766; Planter's Declaration.)

Shortly before Sir Thomas Gates embarked for England, Sir Thomas Dale prevailed on him to allot to each man of the rest of the people, three acres of clear ground, which he was to cultivate as a farmer for three years; at the end of which period his absolute freedom would be awarded him. For this he was bound to work eleven months for the colony, in the building of Charles City, in erecting houses at Jamestown, and in other general services; and was allowed clothing and victuals for part of the first year, two bushels of corn yearly from the public store, and one month in the year, and one day in the week from May till harvest, to work for his own sustenance. These terms were gladly accepted; but the tenants afterwards complained that they were not faithfully observed, and that "of that small time allowed for their sustenance, they were abridged of near half." But there was no injury done. Long experience in the art of shunning public work had taught them the readiest way to indemnify themselves for any encroachment upon their own allotted time. They said, with amusing simplicity, that "out of their daily tasks" they were forced to redeem time wherein to labor for their sustentation." If wronged of a day, they got back an equivalent in fragments of days, cribbed from their tasks. Their discontent probably vanished under the less energetic rule of Dale's successor, Yeardley; and, at the end of three years, gave way to a feeling of triumphant exultation, when they compared their lot with that of the farmers, of whom less labor had been required, but who still remained in the old state of servitude.

These judicious measures of Sir Thomas Dale improved the public resources, and inspired the colonists with new hopes and increased energy, by raising them from a servile condition to a state of comparative freedom and manly self-reliance. Before he left Virginia, his farmers had furnished the storehouses with a superabundance of corn; and, instead of seeking it, as formerly, of the Indians, at the hazard of being derided or capriciously refused, he sold, or lent to them, large quantities of it. (Hamor, pp. 16, 17, 18, 31-32; IV. Purchas, p. 1766; Chalmers' Revolt, pp. 9, 10, 36; Planters' Declaration; Stith, p. 140.)

Chalmers, in his "Revolt of the American Colonies," cited above, says, that Dale, "in 1613, assigned to every freeman a farm of three acres, on condition that they labored annually *three* months for the Company, and paid them three bushels of corn." He refers to no authority for this statement, and we have failed to discover any. We apprehend it to be erroneous, and that there was no such three-acre grant, distinct from what is described above.

In Chalmers' comments on the grants of fifty acres, prescribed in 1615, he differs essentially from himself, and, in part, from Stith, his authority. In his "Political Annals" (p. 36), he says, that the grants in question were made "to every *adventurer* and his heirs," &c.; but, in his "Revolt of the Colonies" (p. 10), he says, "to every *freeman* in absolute right." He repeats part of Stith's exposition, that this was the ancient legal method of granting lands in Virginia, and was adopted for the encouragement of emigration. But he overlooks the fact, also mentioned by Stith, that one hundred acres was the quantity

originally allotted to the adventurer, and that it was reduced to fifty acres in 1615, because the value of land in Virginia was thought to have been doubled under the wise administration of Sir Thomas Dale. In his later work, the "Revolt of the Colonies," in reference to these fifty-acre grants, he says, "If we look into the 'Virginia Annals,' we shall find the year 1615 remarkable for the establishment of a fixed possession of the soil descendible to heirs." He does not inform the reader, nor do we know, where to find the "Virginia Annals," in which he gathered this fruit of his researches. But it is certain that the regulation, introduced in 1615, simply reduced the quantity of land previously allotted to adventurers. It conferred no new right either upon the adventurer or the inhabitants in general; nor did it in any way or degree change or affect the existing tenure by which land in the colony was held. (Stith, pp. 139, 140.)

Early in the spring of 1616, Sir Thomas Dale, accompanied by Pocahontas, and John Rolfe, her husband, returned to England in the "Treasurer," commanded by Argall. Nearly two years before, King James had written to the States-General, requesting them to extend Dale's leave of absence to two or three years longer. To this they gave their consent on the 30th of September, 1614. After he landed in England, he was prevented by ill-health from repairing to his post in the Netherlands for nearly a year and a half. At length, about the 1st of January, 1618, he went to the Hague for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, full arrears of pay for the seven years of his absence, and of being continued in the pay and favor of the States. On presenting himself to Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at the Hague, he delivered to him a letter from King James, in which Sir Dudley was specially instructed to second the endeavors of Sir Thomas in regard to his arrears of pay, and his continuance in the Dutch service. He had, also, a letter of introduction to Sir Dudley from Sir Henry Savile, one of the most learned men, and the greatest patron of learning in his day; in which Dale is mentioned as a friend of the Earl of Southampton, who had done good service in the plantation of Virginia. The Earl showed his friendship for Dale in persuading Sir Noel Caron, the Dutch ambassador, to write to the States-General, recommending his friend Dale's claim to their favorable consideration. (I. New York Docum. pp. 9, 10, 16, 17, 18; Carleton, Letters, p. 202; Eng. Dom. St. Papers, vol. xci., Dec. 4, 1617.)

Sir Dudley, as English ambassador, was entitled to a seat in the Assembly of the States-General. On the 26th of January, 1618, he presented Sir Thomas Dale's petition to the House, announcing, first verbally, and afterwards in writing, that he did so by express orders from the king, his master. After bestowing high commendations on "the patience, diligence, and valor with which Sir Thomas Dale had overcome serious difficulties and dangers, and finally established a good and permanent settlement in Virginia, all along a river navigable for seventy leagues into the interior," he adverted to the grant of full pay during absence, which they had made to Sir Thomas Gates, and expressed his hope that the same favor would now be shown to Sir Thomas Dale.

The petition of Dale dwelt on his long service, and his pressing want of the arrears of his pay to satisfy debts with which his company was burdened when he first received it; and concluded by "confidently requesting," that their High Mightinesses would be pleased to enable him to pay those debts, and to continue a faithful servant in their service. (I. New York Docum. pp. 16, 18.)

The Assembly immediately ordered the petition, with the ambassador's recommendation, made in obedience to the command of His Majesty, to be placed in the hands of the Council of State for their advice. The Council's report of the 30th of January was read in the Assembly on the 3d of February; and, in conformity with its recommendation, it was proposed to pay Sir Thomas Dale one-half of the arrears claimed, but the final resolution on the subject was postponed till the following Monday, the 5th. On the 6th the final resolution was made known that payment should be made of half of the petitioner's wages for the seven years of his absence. But, three days after, another resolution was adopted, allowing him full wages for the time mentioned above, "notwithstanding the resolution to the contrary adopted at the time of his absence," which we have already noticed. (*Supra*, p. 54.)

The reasons which influenced the Assembly in thus rescinding their first resolution, are, in a great degree, a matter of conjecture. The original refusal of the Assembly in 1611 to continue the pay of Dale during his intended absence, no doubt had great weight at first;

but the States-General, in selling his company to Captain Willoughby, had not kept faith with Sir Thomas Dale, to whom, at the time his leave of absence was granted, and the continuance of pay refused, the States, by formal resolution, had given their promise that "his company should remain vacant" during his absence, "to be resumed if he thought proper." Sir Thomas now got back his company. This inflicted a loss and a wrong upon Captain Willoughby, who had honestly paid for the company. His friends in England interested the king in his behalf so far as to persuade him that Sir Thomas had committed a fault, and to induce him to have efforts made, through the ambassador, to procure for the captain "the company he had paid for." It may reasonably be surmised that Sir Thomas restored his company to Captain Willoughby; and by compromise, in return, was rewarded with all the arrears he had claimed. The recent appointment of Sir Thomas as Admiral in the service of the English East-India Company might have made the States-General somewhat cautious of giving him provocation to seek redress by disturbing their colonies and commerce within reach of his naval command.

The king's displeasure was not excessive nor lasting. In the beginning of April, 1618, Sir Thomas sailed with six ships from England for Bantam, in Java, bearing with him the king's commission, conferring upon him civil as well as martial authority; with special injunctions to prevent traders and interlopers from disturbing the Company's commerce. On his arrival at Bantam, he found the Dutch at war with the Javanese, and was called upon by the king of Bantam to give his assistance against the oppressions of the Dutch. In the course of his voyage, Sir Thomas Dale had taken charge of a Dutch ship laden with pepper, valued at £30,000, as the Dutch alleged, under color of friendship, and he had also lost his own, the Admiral ship, on one of the Inganno, or Eugene Islands, near the Straits of Sunda. At the time these two incidents occurred, he was not aware that the Dutch, for three years previous, had been in the habit of seizing, without ceremony, English vessels with valuable cargoes, and of attacking possessions of the English East-India Company, in utter defiance of the intimate and amicable relations subsisting between the respective governments at home. But subsequently, when better informed of the hostile conduct of the Dutch, he, no doubt, was eager to fight for the friendly king to whose kindness the English Company were indebted for their factory in Jacatra, and to hold fast the Dutch ship and cargo, by way of reprisal.

A treaty between the king and the factory was soon made, by which the latter gained a permanent site for the factory in Jacatra, on payment of fifteen hundred rials of eight; and, for the annual payment of seven hundred rials, the privilege of free trade, exempt from all duties, inward and outward, except five per cent on pepper, and three per cent on cloves exported. The king bound himself to make no treaty with the Dutch, nor allow them to fortify within his dominions, without the consent of the English. The forces of each contracting party were to be employed against the Dutch at Jacatra; and, on the surrender of the castle, whatever might be taken was to be shared equally by them, after replacing their respective military stores consumed. The castle was to be at the disposal of the king; and the personal security of the Dutch, at the disposal of the English. (Carleton, Letters, p. 202; I. Bruce, E. I. Annals, pp. 204-210; I. Birch, James, p. 190.)

To complete the armament of the king's ships, Sir Thomas Dale and the other commanders contributed ten heavy guns and twenty barrels of powder. In the earlier part of January, 1619, Sir Thomas left port for Jacatra, with eleven ships. On his way he had an encounter with seven Dutch vessels, six of which escaped to Amboyna, and one to Holland. Jacatra was shortly after attacked; and the castle, with its garrison of three hundred men, on the 22d of the same month, surrendered, on condition that the Dutch, to avoid the insults of the Javanese, should be conveyed to the Coromandel coast, on taking an oath not to serve against the English before the next November. But within a year the Dutch regained possession of the place, and there built and fortified the city of Batavia, the capital of their possessions in the East Indies. At that period, in fact, the Dutch selected their places of trade at discretion, and maintained them by force; while the English, at the same time, were often foiled in similar attempts, by adhering too closely to the courtly policy suggested by Sir Thomas Roe, which proscribed all soldiers, garrisons, and forts, as destructive of commercial gain. Under such a system, the ability of Sir Thomas Dale was misplaced and lost to his country. He was bred a soldier, and had he been allowed a competent land force, his

professional skill, his ardor, prudence, and inflexible resolution, would have repelled all attacks, and kept Java as a permanent British possession. But the sea was not his element; nor, if it had been, could he hope for any great naval success at that period, when English vessels, although more strongly built, were outsailed by those of the Dutch. The latter, when met with by an equal or superior force, easily escaped after a brief cannonade. This superiority in speed, combined with the abundance of their shipping, and the skill of their mariners, gave the Dutch, in the East Indies, an advantage over other nations which they turned to account against both friends and foes in their contests for the monopoly of trade. Even before the parole of the Jacatra prisoners had expired, a Dutch squadron of six ships attacked four English ships under the command of Captain Bonner, who had taken in pepper at a port in Sumatra. Bonner was killed, and his vessel sunk. The three other ships, the "Bear," "Expedition," and "Rose," were compelled to surrender. The "Bear," at the time, was carrying out letters from Sir Thomas Roe and the Dutch Admiral, announcing that the "accord" between the two East-India Companies, Dutch and English, had been, or was, on the point of being amicably effected by treaty. But after this treaty (of July, 1619) was made known to all the world, "the Dutch executed only the least important conditions, but sought to evade the rest." History seldom reveals a more heinous violation of all moral and political obligations than was perpetrated three years after the treaty by the Dutch, in the cruel torture and murder of the twenty—English and others—who belonged to the English factory at Amboyna. (Bruce, p. 211; I. Church, *Voy.* pp. 770-809; Peckard's *Life of Farrar*, p. 40; Carleton, *Letters*, p. 477; Mill's *India*, p. 40; Stubbe, *Further Justification*, p. 134.)

At that time Sir Thomas Dale was no longer living. He died at Masulipatam on the 9th of August, 1619. The Reverend Mr. Copeland, chaplain of Captain Martin Pring's ship of one thousand tons, the "Royal James," frequently met him in Bantam—not Japan, as misreported in the Company debates cited by Stith—during the last eight months of his life, and was so forcibly struck with Sir Thomas's glowing commendations of Virginia, that, on the homeward voyage, by his example and persuasion, he prevailed on the ship's company to contribute £70 towards building a church or free school in the colony. This sum was afterwards, by the gifts of two persons, increased to £125. The death of Sir Thomas Dale was everywhere deeply lamented by all who had known him in his varied career. In the East Indies, it was felt by the English as the severest of public calamities, until, about eight months after, news came that peace was established between England and the Dutch provinces. His friends in England, while endeavoring to secure the remnant of his property for the benefit of his widow, depended for success on the distinguished merits of her departed husband. Captain Conway, an old comrade of Sir Thomas in the Netherland service, and whose first wife was a cousin of Lady Dale, on the 1st of July, 1623, wrote to his father, Sir Edward Conway, who had likewise served with Sir Thomas, and was then Secretary of State, to thank him for having procured from the king a special request to the Navy Commissioners to obtain for the widow of Sir Thomas the lease of an estate in the hands of the East-India Company. The friendly interest of Captain Conway was manifested in the same letter to his father, by an entreaty that he would use his influence to secure expedition in the case of Lady Dale, and a patient examination of her witnesses. Ten months after, Sir Edward Conway wrote to Sir Edward Coke to beg him to favor Lady Dale by hastening the report in another case of hers, which had been referred to a committee of the House. To quicken Sir Edward Coke's efforts in the affair, he adds, "Her late husband was a man of great courage and reputation, and in his last voyage lost his life, and a quantity of goods, which his lady now claims." (I. Purchas. 639, 640, 641, 653; Stith, pp. 204, 297; Eng. Dom. St. Papers, vol. cxlviii., July, 1623; vol. cxliii., May, 1624.)

HARVEY'S DECLARATION.

A BRIEF DECLARATION OF THE STATE OF VIRGINIA AT MY COMINGE FROM
THENCE IN FEBRUARY 1624.*

PEOPLE. — People there were about 12 hundred Where-
of able men about 700.

ARMES. — Peices of Ordinance 33 Whereof about ten
mounted — Murtherers and Bases 26.

NOTE. — John Harvey, the author of the above report, was appointed by an order in council on the 24th October, 1623, together with John Pory, Esq., Abraham Persey, Samuel Matthews, and John Jefferson, to make inquiries as to the actual state of the Plantation in Virginia. Matthews and Persey were residents in the colony; the first, a member of the General Assembly, and a wealthy planter; the second, Cape merchant of the colony. John Jefferson never acted under the commission. As the particular inquiries enjoined by the commission are distinctly answered in this report, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

Stith (p. 328), in noticing the return to England of Harvey and Pory, "the Privy Council's commissioners," as he distinguishes them from their two colleagues, says, "what their report was of the state of the colony, I cannot discover; but we may easily judge, by the dispositions and principles of the men, that it was not much to the honor or advantage of the present government." The report, however, agrees mainly with the representations given by the Assembly itself; with the exception, perhaps, of what it says of the general desire for a royal government, the want of public works for use and defence, and the necessity of husbanding the public resources.

The report gives a much larger number of pieces of ordnance than the Assembly claimed in their reply to Butler's "Unmasking of Virginia." (Stith, p. 310.) In vindication of the recommended change of government, it is sufficient to refer to the proceedings of the Assembly eighteen years later, when they refused to listen to a proposition for restoring the Virginia Company; but denounced it as having brought intolerable calamities upon the colony, by its unlawful proceedings, cruel punishments, and monopolizing policy. (II. Force, Article VI.; Burke, II. p. 68.) That the Company, as a mercantile enterprise, was a failure, may be inferred from its inability at this time to furnish the Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, with his legal number of tenants, without taking them from the Company's lands in Virginia; and this transfer was actually adopted as an expedient to induce him to continue in office, because the Company had no means to fit out a new governor. The welfare of the colony, under the Company, was mainly a contingency, dependent on constant supplies from England, of laborers, soldiers, and provisions. Governors, and other officers, who had large allotments of land and laborers; and private individuals, who had wealth enough to procure a competent number of laborers from England, and interest enough to obtain large tracts of land in favorable situations, might grow rich; and even the humbler classes might live in comfort: but the Company, with its idle tenants, could hardly hope for returns that would repay the advances. (Smith's Va. pp. 139, 167; Stith, p. 124.)

Of Harvey's early history not much is known. From Chamberlain's and Sir Dudley Carleton's letters, it appears that in December, 1617, he was commander of a vessel with eighty men on board, fitted out by himself and Rowland Lytton, a kinsman of Sir Dudley's, for a voyage, as he alleged, for Guiana. But the Venetian resident, suspecting that Harvey's vessel, then lying *wind-bound* in the Texel, was designed, with other ships, to be sent to the Duke of Ossuna, the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, to aid piratical depredations, which, in defi-

* Indorsed, "A Declaration of the present state of Virginia by Captaine John Harvey. Feb.ry 1624."

Armes offensive they haue sufficient. — defensive not halfe ynough.

MUNITION. — They are in greate want of powder, but lead to make smale shott they have ynough for the pres-

ance of treaty obligations and orders from the Court of Madrid, he was committing upon the commerce of Venice, caused them to be detained. Captain Harvey repaired at once to the Hague, assured Sir Dudley Carleton, then ambassador there, that the destination of his ship was for Guiana, and besought his official interference. At the request of the Dutch authorities, the investigation of the case of all the suspected vessels was referred to the Privy Council; and they, finding the suspicions of the Venetian resident to be groundless, ordered the vessels to be released; the owners — among whom the principal was Maurice Abbott, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and one of King James's four nominees for the vacancy of Sir Edwin Sandys, in 1620 (Stith, p. 179) — giving satisfactory security to the States-General, and being required by a royal command, upon their allegiance, "not to serve the king of Spain, or any of his Lieutenants." (Carleton, Letters, pp. 214, 221, 223, 226, 227.)

Chamberlain, about three weeks after the arrest of Harvey's ship, wrote to his friend, Sir Dudley, expressing his gratification at the favor he had shown to Rowland Lytton and Captain Harvey. He thinks "Harvey, with whom he had some little acquaintance, to be a proper man, though perhaps somewhat cholerick and impatient." He says, "Sure their meaning is for Guiana, or some part of the West Indies." From his language, it would appear that Lytton and Harvey were saved from ruin by Sir Dudley; or, in his own words, "would have been quite undone, if they had been hindered." (I. Birch, James, p. 456.)

Harvey's intimacy with the Lyttons appears to have continued. In November, 1620, he bought of William Lytton, whom Chamberlain calls Sir Dudley's cousin, three shares or three hundred acres of land in the colony; and, in the same year, with others, procured from the Treasurer and Council a patent for a plantation there. (Virg. Comp. Declaration, 1620; I. Birch, James, p. 262.)

Two years later, in 1622, he lost his intimate friend, Nicholas Hare, with whom he had travelled over Italy, and had finally been domesticated at Padua. The administration of Mr. Hare's large estate was left to him as sole executor. Chamberlain supposed it would yield him £3,000 or £4,000. (II. Birch, James, p. 286.)

Sir Dudley Carleton having a portrait of Mr. Hare, and Harvey being anxious to obtain a copy of it to be made by Michael Jansen, or some other good artist, Chamberlain communicated Harvey's wish to Sir Dudley, who readily gave permission that a copy might be taken at his country seat at Ickworth, by any one whom Harvey chose. This permission was accompanied with the remark that "it was a happiness to that unfortunate gentleman [Hare] to have so honest a friend as Captain Harvey about him; otherwise, his hypochondriacal humors might have carried him some such way as the Lord Berkshire has gone." (II. Birch, James, p. 291.)

In August, 1623, Harvey was appointed a commissioner with Pory, as stated in the beginning of this note.

In August, 1624, shortly after his return from Virginia, he was appointed one of the council in the colony, under the administration of Sir Francis Wyatt, and afterwards on the 14th March, 1626, one of Sir George Yeardley's council; and, in case of Sir George's death during his official term, as his successor in office. Yeardley died in the autumn of 1627; and the Colonial Council informed the Privy Council, in their letter of the 20th of December, that, in accordance with the tenor of his commission, they had chosen Captain Francis West governor. It appears that Harvey had remained in England ever since 1624. (Chalmers's MSS. Eng. St. Papers, T. A.; I. Hazard, pp. 189, 230.)

By a royal commission issued on the 26th of March, 1628, Harvey, who was knighted on this occasion, was appointed governor; but he did not proceed to the colony till late in the

ent. But since my Cominge home I am certainlie informed his Majesties Commissioners for Virginia haue sent a good supply of powder.

following year. In his letter of the 29th of May, 1630, to the Privy Council, he says, that, on account of his long voyage and sickness, he had been unable to apply to the affairs of the colony till the week before Easter, against which time (24th March) he had called a new assembly. (I. Hazard, p. 234; Chalmers's MSS. St. Papers, *ut supra*.)

Some further account of Harvey will be found in the notes to Secretary Kemp's letter, inserted hereafter.

The purpose of the commission under which Harvey's Declaration, or report, was made was to ascertain the actual state and condition of the colony, and to make, if possible, the recall of the charter and the king's assumption of the government acceptable to the colonists. This act of despotic power was predetermined. The dissensions of the Company, the insinuations and intrigues of Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, and the profusion and avarice of James, all contributed to its final accomplishment. The king, coveting an increased revenue from tobacco, had already, not only violated the charter, but also, subsequently, abjured and annulled a solemn contract with the Company, which conferred, to a certain extent, the monopoly of the English market for that article. He had also required, that all Virginia commodities should be first brought to English ports, and pay English duties on exportation to any foreign country.

Next, on the 9th of May, 1623, a commission under the great seal had been issued to Sir William Jones, a justice of the Common Pleas, and other knights, to investigate the affairs of the colony. In the hope of obtaining proof of misconduct on the part of the Company, their books and records were seized, the Deputy-Treasurer Farrar was arrested and confined; and all letters from Virginia were intercepted. The deputy, however, was soon after released, and the books were restored on the Company's petition, to enable them to carry on their business before the commissioners and elsewhere.

The king also, on the last day of the following July, obtained from the Attorney-General, Coventry, and the Solicitor-General, Heath, an opinion, that for original defects in the patent, and for abuses and miscarriages in the plantation and its government, the king might resume the government, with a reservation of the rights of individuals; and, to save time, it would be best not to wait for a judicial decision, but to proceed at once by royal proclamation. This was purely an obsequious opinion. According to an old marginal note on the Privy Council records, "the *real* fault in the Patents was, that the *King would have them*." (Chalmers's MSS. Notes, Eng. St. Papers, T. A.; Peckard's Life of Farrar, pp. 89, 109, 113, 115, 126, 144, 145; Stith, p. 298.)

Armed with this opinion, the king, after several vexatious assaults on the Company's vested rights, on the 8th of the following October, by order in council, declared to the Company his fixed intention to substitute a new charter for that of 1609, and required a court to be assembled immediately, to determine whether they would, or would not, assent to the proposed abrogation of their charter; and, if they refused, he would proceed to effect his purpose in such way as to him should seem just and meet. (Stith, pp. 303, 304.)

On the 20th of October, the Company, by a large majority, resolved to defend their charter. The king, to give his arbitrary conduct the semblance of justice, so far departed from the course recommended by his legal advisers, as to seek the attainment of his purpose by a longer but equally sure method, — the formality of a legal process. (Stith, pp. 296-298, signature X.)

To procure such proofs in aid of his design as he had failed to discover in the books and records of the Company, and in the letters intercepted, the commission to which Harvey and Pory were attached was now formed. Alderman Johnson's petition to the king, and his subsequent "Declaration" in praise of Sir Thomas Smith's administration, and the random calumnies of Captain Butler, in his "Virginia Unmasked," led to the persuasion that the evidence desired might easily be found in the colony.

FORTIFICATIONS.—Fortifications they haue none sufficient against a stronger enemy then the Salvages, and against the Savages only houses impaled.

Harvey, with his colleague Pory, arrived at Jamestown in the beginning of the year 1624, where they were joined by their colonial colleagues, Matthews and Persey. Three orders in Council of the 8th, 17th, and 20th of October, were intrusted to Pory to be published, at his discretion, in Virginia. They all related to the proposed resumption of the charter. The first announced the king's intentions; the second reproved the Company's delay, and required an immediate decision as to the voluntary surrender of the charter; and the third was explanatory of the king's intention to respect the private interest and property of every man. These were all published, soon after, by the Assembly. By a letter from the Privy Council to the Governor and Council, the latter were required to "yield their best aid and assistance upon all occasions, and in all things which the commissioners might find cause to use, in the prosecution of their inquiries concerning the state of the colony." (Stith, pp. 297-314.)

The commissioners were apparently well received by the local authorities, and, as usual on similar occasions, mutual assurances of a desire that their dealings with each other should be marked with the utmost frankness and amicable feeling were, no doubt, exchanged. But Stith (p. 315) says, that the commissioners "at first promised to communicate all their representations and papers to the Governor and Assembly, expecting the like favor from them, but afterwards stood off, and, indeed, absolutely refused to let them know any thing they were doing, under the pretence that the Lords of the Privy Council ought to have the first view of what they intended to present." Now, it surely is not credible, that men, of such intelligence and experience as Harvey and Pory certainly were, could be so forgetful of the nature of their position as to "promise to communicate all their representations and papers," in any such sense as to include their official reports to the Privy Council. In all assurances exchanged as above, on the threshold of any negotiation or mission, there is an implied and well understood reserve, that confines their meaning within the pale of official duty. Accordingly, when asked if they would give the Virginia rulers a first sight of any report they might make before it should be despatched to the Privy Council, the commissioners answered, as might be expected, and perhaps, too, as was hoped and desired, that "the Lords of the Council ought to have the first view of what they intended to present."

Stith adduces this reply, as proof of a breach of promise, and of a refusal, on the part of the commissioners, to let the Virginia rulers "know any thing of what they were doing." It proves neither. The question which produced the reply was made early, and was entirely prospective. It pointed to future reports, and, as well as the reply, had not the slightest reference to what the commissioners were doing, or had done; which, of course, at any time before the session of the Assembly, could only have been collecting information, the materials for a report. This was unavoidably a work to be carried on so much in public, that it did not admit of concealment, — in fact, no report whatever was made for sixteen days after the Assembly met.

Warrants were issued on the 26th of January, — a few days after the two commissioners from England landed, — for the meeting of the Assembly on the 14th of February. On that day, the Assembly met, and went immediately into secret session, with the avowed design of concealing all their proceedings from the commissioners. The first business of the Assembly was to draw up answers to the unfavorable accounts of the colony, given by Alderman Johnson and Captain Butler, in order to remove, if possible, the king's prejudices, and avert the danger impending over the charter. A desire to conceal, for a time, the fact that copies of Johnson and Butler's accounts had been mysteriously procured from the archives of the Privy Council, to anticipate any contradictory report, and to secure themselves from all interference and external influence that might be apprehended from the commissioners, was probably the leading motive for thus closing their doors against them, although Stith represents it as caused by the fault, breach of promise, &c., which he endeavors to fasten on the commissioners.

HOUSES. — Houses they haue sufficient for the people that are nowe there, the fabricke whereof they haue much amended within these last two yeares.

In legal strictness, this proceeding, on the part of the Assembly, was a violation of duty, and an insult to their sovereign, in the person of his commissioners; for, in spite of his demerits, he, as legal visitor of all corporations, had the indefeasible right of free access, in some form or other, to all information concerning their acts and proceedings; and the letter of the Privy Council, mentioned above, had also enjoined the local government to aid the commissioners "in all things which they should find cause to use," in the execution of their commission.

Authentic information of the secret proceedings of the Assembly, at this critical period, must have been to the king an object of great interest and importance. By the conduct of the Assembly in withholding it, his commissioners were driven to get what they were entitled to by some such indirect expedient as they adopted in procuring it from Sharples, the Clerk, for a pecuniary consideration. In their capacity, they were constrained, by duty to their sovereign, to give him complete and ample information of every thing within the scope of their commission; and, according to English law, which, by charter, was paramount in the colony, any oath that Sharples, as Clerk of the Assembly, had taken to deliver no papers without the Governor's consent, was, as against the king's commands, a mere nullity. The king could not be divested of his paramount rights by the act of any subordinate assembly of a chartered company. Even the irregular delivery, by Sharples, of the papers to the commissioners, might be legally deemed a delivery to the king, and in obedience to a command emanating from him, which either virtually overruled and superseded the necessity of any such sanction from the Governor, or other functionary, as might have been prescribed by local law; or, at least, so far changed the complexion of the offence of Sharples as to take it out of the class of crimes for which mutilation, or other corporal and disgraceful punishment, was then inflicted. The Governor and Council themselves were subsequently disinclined to subject Sharples to the whole punishment prescribed in the sentence. They were called to account for the affair, and, on the 13th of July, 1625, wrote in excuse to the Lords of the Privy Council, that he was "only just set on the pillory, and lost a piece of one of his ears."

If, according to Stith, and writers who have copied him, Pory is to be condemned for his share in this transaction, on what principle are we to acquit Franklin, or his coadjutor, Whately, or Williamson, for obtaining, surreptitiously, the letters of Hutchinson and others; Madison, for purchasing the Henry papers; or Washington and all his Presidential successors, for approving and using appropriations for secret services? Least of all, was the Council of the Virginia Company entitled to sit in judgment upon him, before they had accounted for their mysterious possession of authentic copies of the Privy Council documents — Johnson's petition, and Butler's information — more satisfactorily than by the loose and evasive statement, that "they were sent to the Company by some person." (Stith, p. 291.)

On the 24th of February, the commissioners communicated to the Assembly the three orders in council mentioned above, together with a paper containing four queries, or propositions, as they were termed, respecting the colony, and explained their commission and instructions, so far as concerned the subjects to be inquired into. A week later, they addressed a letter to the Assembly, enclosing, for consideration a form of assent to the king's proposed change of government, and expressing a hope that they would consider it "very fit to be subscribed by the whole Assembly, — it being what they themselves would most readily and most humbly set their hands unto." But that body, equally unwilling to offend the king, or to adopt the suicidal measure proposed, instead of giving any positive answer, inquired by what authority the commissioners made such a proposal, as they could not see that it had any ground in the instructions which they had seen; and therefore, before they returned an answer, they desired to learn from the commissioners the extent of their authority, or definitely that they had no further instructions or commission which might concern them.

VICTUALS. — Corne for themselves they haue noe more then sufficient to bringe the yeare about and at my Comminge away they were goeing to trade for Corne with the Savages in the baye.

The commissioners, in their rejoinder, reminded the Assembly of the declaration they made at the delivery of their papers, that they had neither commission nor instruction to move the Assembly to subscribe the form of assent, nor were they needed for propounding the performance of so eminent a duty. They had been guided, they said, by their own discretion, with a view to the benefit of the colony; and, as freemen and planters, it was lawful for them to offer to the Assembly any reasonable suggestion, even of less consequence. They added, that they had further commissions, which concerned the colonists in their "houses, persons, servants, corn, cattle, arms, &c.," but that it need not be suspected, "that they would attempt any thing to any man's wrong, or which they could not very well answer."

The Assembly, having thus obtained a written disavowal of official authority for this attempt to induce the Assembly to disregard the policy and sentiments of their immediate governors, — the Company in England, — and give a subservient support and adherence to the measures of the king, replied, that, when their assent should be required by authority, it would be most proper to give a reply. They repeated their conviction, that the king's intentions had been founded on wrong information, and would, they hoped, be altered by their own more faithful accounts. All four of the commissioners signed the report to the Privy Council of this transaction, which was unnecessary, if they acted only in the private capacity, as they pretended, of "freemen and planters, and not as commissioners." (Stith, pp. 316, 318; Chalmers's MSS. Extracts, T. A.'s Va. Papers, vol. i. fol. 37, 38.)

Stith mentions, in general terms, the four propositions, or queries, which the commissioners, at this period, laid before the Assembly. As neither he nor later writers give the propositions in full, nor the answers at all, we will now give them, somewhat more at large.

The four propositions were as follows: —

First. What places in the country are best or most proper to be fortified or maintained, either against Indians or other enemies that may come by sea?

Second. How the colony stands in respect of the savages?

Third. What hopes may truly and really be conceived of this plantation.

Fourth. What means are the most direct to attain these hopes?

The Assembly answered each query in order: —

Firstly. Point Comfort is of most use, but of great charge and difficulty. Warriscoyake, where the fortification was intended, (is) more effectual to secure the places above it; from Wyanoake Marsh upwards, there are divers places which may peremptorily command shipping or boats. The best against the Indians, and most of use for the future increase of plenty, is the winning of the forest, by running a pale from Martin's Hundred to Chiskiack, which is not above six miles, and planting upon both rivers, — the river of Pamunkey being also more defensible against a foreign enemy.

Secondly. The terms between them (Indians) and us are irreconcilable. The charge of driving them away, which would reduce us to a better state than we were before the massacre, so great as it is, (is) too weighty for us to support; though hitherto we have done whatsoever it was possible for our means and numbers to effect against an enemy from whom there is no spoil to be expected. The advantages of the woods and the nimbleness of their heels prevent execution; the harms they do us is by ambushes and sudden incursions, where they see their advantages, — we never, since the massacre, having lost one man in any expedition against them. The inconveniences that we receive from them are of far greater consequence: we have not the safe range of the country for the increase of cattle, swine, &c., nor the game and fowl, which the country affords in great plenty; besides, our duties to watch and ward, to secure ourselves and labors, are as hard and chargeable as if the enemy were at all times present.

CATTLE. — Neate Cattle young and old about 500.

Horses. One horse and one mare.

Tame swyne about 500.

Goates and kidds about 300.

BOATES. — Of boates they are reasonably well provided.

Thirdly. We hold it to be one of the goodliest parts of the earth, abounding with navigable rivers, full of variety of fish and fowl, falling from high and steep mountains, which, by the general relation of the Indians, are rich with mines, — gold, silver, and copper, — another sea lying within six days' journey beyond them, into which other rivers descend. The soil fruitful, and apt to produce the best sort of commodities, replenished with many trees for several uses; gums, dyes, earths, and simples, of admirable virtue; vines and mulberries growing wild in great quantities; the woods full of deer, turkeys, and other beasts and birds. For more particular relation, we refer you to the reports of Sir Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale, made unto the Company concerning those praises, no way hyperbolicall, nor any country more worthy of a prince's care and supportance.

Fourthly. The way to attain these hopes is to have a running army continually afoot to keep the Indians from settling on any place that is near us, to send over numbers of people to arrive here about the prime of winter, with provisions of cattle, and with full provisions for themselves, at least, for a year; in the mean time, to fall only upon the planting of vines and mulberry-trees, and to send men over that are expert in those faculties, to plant gardens and orchards, and such things as are useful for the sustenance of man's life, to raise the price of tobacco by the sole importation, and reducing the customs to the rate of the letters patent; and, when the country shall be blessed with plenty of such provisions, and multitudes of people, to proceed in the discovery of the wealth of the mountains and the commodities of the seas that are credibly reported to lie beyond them. A care must be had that ships come not out overpestered, and they be well used at sea with that plenty and goodness of diet as is promised in England, but seldom performed; that, when they come, they first fall to building of good and convenient houses, and bring men over for that purpose; that, for the first year, they only endeavor themselves to the planting of corn, to the making of gardens, to the choosing and enclosing of fit places for their cattle, and to the planting only of so much tobacco as may serve to sustain them in necessary clothing for the succeeding year. A proportion of malt they should also bring over, to make themselves beer, that the sudden drinking of water cause not too great an alteration in their bodies; that they employ themselves to the planting of English grain, that they thereby may have the hope of two harvests; and that such numbers may be seated together, as may be able to secure themselves, and to make good such a part of the country as they may have free and secure range for the sustenance and increase of their cattle. These done, we doubt not, in convenient time, to purchase to his Majesty a rich and flourishing kingdom.

These answers of the Assembly show very clearly that the Virginia Company, as a mercantile enterprise, had not been successful. Sir Thomas Roe gives nearly the same picture of the Portuguese and Dutch plantations of that period in the East Indies. "The Portuguese," says he, "are beggared by soldiers, yet their garrisons are mean. They made no advantage of the Indies, since they defended them. The Dutch seek plantations here by the sword, turn a wonderful stock, prowl in all places, yet their dead pays consume all the gain." High salaries, and heavy fiscal exactions by the king, made it impossible for the colony of Virginia to sustain the expense of a proper military defence. (I. Churchill's *Voyage*, p. 877; Stith, p. 318.)

The Assembly, however, though generally not sharing in the pecuniary sacrifices of the body of adventurers, was nevertheless naturally guided and controlled by the opinions and feelings predominant in the Company in London. The two parties into which the Company, for six years before its dissolution, was divided, strove to throw the blame of its ill success upon each other. The stated meetings, both of the Virginia and of the Bermuda

What present relation the State of the Colony hath to England.

Theire generall desire is to bee immediately vnder the government and protection of his Majestie. Onlie some

Company, were scenes of fierce and bitter contention. In the heat of debate, and in casual interviews, distinguished noblemen forgot the dignity and wonted courtesy of their order. Between Lord Cavendish and the Earl of Warwick, "the lie passed and repassed." The Company journals and records, which were under the control of the dominant party, and all documents emanating from the same source, are, more or less, discolored by the prevailing rancor of the time. Facts are distorted; and suspicions, real or pretended, are gravely adduced as the sole but sufficient proof of charges against an adversary.

The Government and Assembly in Virginia, in some instances, appear to surpass their English rulers in animosity. In their answer, for example, to Alderman Johnson's defence of Sir Thomas Smith's administration as Treasurer, they affect to hold the latter responsible for all the sufferings and calamities of "the starving time," as it was called, in 1609 and 1610. But from the plain and circumstantial accounts, given by Lord De la Warre, Sir Thomas Gates, and Smith, in his history, it is clear, that, on this occasion, at least, Sir Thomas Smith had faithfully discharged his duty. The fleet of Sir Thomas Gates, which left England in May, 1609, was supplied by him with a year's provisions for the colony; and, had it reached its destined port in safety, no famine would have occurred. But a storm dispersed the fleet, sunk one vessel, and drove the Admiral's ship, — "The Sea Venture," — with the two knights, Gates and Somers, and Vice-Admiral Newport on board, in a shattered and foundering condition upon the rocks off Bermuda. This vessel contained the bulk of the provisions, which, as well as the remainder, laden on board the other seven ships, was chiefly spoiled, at sea, by the continuance of excessively rough weather. When these seven ships arrived, the stock of provisions in the colony, owing to the providence and strenuous efforts of the President, Captain John Smith, was sufficient for ten weeks' ordinary consumption. But the new-comers were disorderly, riotous, wasteful of the supplies on hand, and too reckless and slothful to add to them by labor in the fields. By wantonly provoking the hostility of the Indians, a thousand bushels of corn, belonging to Captain Martin, was lost, and the only means of obtaining future supplies entirely cut off; the deer were also driven away, the hogs of the colony destroyed, and men daily waylaid and murdered by Powhatan's subjects. In England, also, "the moneys came in so slowly, that Lord De la Warre could not be despatched till the colony was worn and spent with difficulties."

The famine was, no doubt, too appalling to need any false coloring or description beyond the simple truth. Yet, to throw odium upon the administration of Sir Thomas Smith, the answer in question repeats the story of a man, who, "out of the misery he endured, killed his wife, and powdered her up to eat, for which he was burnt." The account given by Sir Thomas Gates is, that the man "mortally hated his wife, and therefore secretly killed her; then cut her in pieces, and hid her in divers parts of the house. When the woman was missing, the man suspected, the house searched, and parts of her mangled body were discovered, to excuse himself, he said that his wife died; that he hid her to satisfy his hunger; and that he fed daily upon her. Upon this, his house was again searched, where they found a good quantity of meal, oatmeal, beans, and pease. He was thereupon arraigned, confessed the murder, and was burned for his horrible villainy." All parties admitted that he deserved death.

Stith (p. 116), in relating this incident, evidently takes it for granted that the murder was prompted by starvation. He does not allude to the mortal hatred, or to the discovery of other articles of food, enough to appease any but a cannibal appetite. (II. Birch, James I. p. 412; Smith's Va. p. 90-4, 105; True Declaration of Va., ed. 1610; Stith, pp. 116, 305; I. Churchill's Voyage, p. 662; IV. Purchas, 1757.)

The Assembly, however, had ample grounds for dwelling, in their answer, on the great sufferings of the colonists from bad and scanty supplies. At some times, provisions were

fewe employed by the late Company feare by the Change of government theire losse of imployment and so desire to bee still vnder the Company.

withheld, under an erroneous impression that the colony was, or ought to be, self-supporting; or, for want of funds, because the members of the Company neglected to pay their assessments. Then again, when sent out, they were wasted or embezzled, and sold by the officers and crews of the vessel; and, on some occasions, they were found to be so bad as to be totally unfit for food. (Stith, pp. 59, 60.)

Most of the provisions, laden in Sir Thomas Dale's vessels in 1611, were also, it was said, "such as the hogs refused to eat." Part was sent back; and Sir Thomas Smith did all that could be done, by seeking redress in the courts of law, for the fraud and imposition practised upon the Company. Sir Thomas Gates, and two other gentlemen, testified before the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, at Guildhall, that the remainder of the provisions left in Virginia was not better than the part sent back. (Smith's Va. pp. 69 to 72. Planters' Declaration.)

In affairs of business, the most careful and experienced often suffer from the infidelity of agents and the dishonesty of traders. It was only the year before Sir Francis Wyatt and the Assembly signed their censorious answer to Johnson's defence of Sir Thomas Smith, that one Dupper furnished the colony with beer that was little better than poison. George Sandys wrote to John Ferrar, that the beer and the contagion produced by it caused two hundred deaths. In this case, Sir Francis and the rest would have deemed it absurd to call Lord Southampton and his Deputy Treasurer, Nicholas Ferrar, to account for victimizing the colony; and it was equally absurd, as well as invidious, in parallel cases, to condemn Sir Thomas Smith and Deputy Johnson. (English St. Papers; Am and West India.)

Sir Thomas Smith, as Treasurer, when Virginia was comparatively a strange and unknown land, labored under disadvantages not experienced by his successors in office. In the outset, he had to depend upon others for the information by which he was to be guided in his management of the concerns of the new colony. Newport, as the earliest and head navigator of the Company, in constant communication with the colony, was supposed to be best acquainted with its affairs; and his reports were naturally received as true and indisputable. He constantly represented the settlers as in the enjoyment of comfort and plenty. But John Smith, who was President, and on the spot, in his letter to the President and Council (Va. pp. 70, 71), contradicted these statements; and, by a recital of facts, made it appear that in his reports Newport had been governed more by interest than love of truth. He described Newport's ship as a tavern, a receptacle for stolen goods, and a haunt for the secret barter of articles of food and other necessities sent out for the colony, but purloined by the mariners, in exchange for stolen utensils, and other public or private property; or for furs, Indian baskets, &c., bought of the savages with the produce of such thefts. The soldiers easily obtained "butter, cheese, beef, pork, aqua vite, beer, biscuit, oatmeal, and oil," from the ship, — feigning that it "had been sent by their friends," — and the sailors "daily made good cheer," while the diet of the people on shore was only "a little meal and water." Of the two or three thousand pounds' charge of the voyage (2d supply), not one hundred pounds reached the suffering colonists; nor, in victuals, the value of twenty pounds. Not one of Newport's promises of large supplies from the Indians was fulfilled; but, at his departure, he was furnished with corn from the scanty stock of the colony. The shallow fictions of Newport had created in England a confident but totally unwarrantable expectation of speedy and profitable returns for the advances made; and, as they neither did nor could come, brought down upon Smith the heavy reproaches of the Treasurer and Council; and threats, that, if thereafter such returns were not made, the Company would abandon the colony, and leave Smith and his companions to their fate in the wilderness. Smith's indignation in turn was now roused. In manly but civil terms, he told the Treasurer and Council that he had found neither gold nor the South Sea, as ordered: but, in obedience to their commands, he had assisted, to the extent of his power, in carrying out the other schemes

What present relation the State of the Colony hath to the Salvages.

They are ingaged in a mortall warre and fleshed in each others blood, of which the Causes haue been the late

and projects suggested to them by Captain Newport, although he could not approve of them; and had also freighted Newport's ship with various articles, "trials of pitch, tar, glass, soap, ashes," &c., which they had required, and which could be got, at less cost, from nearer countries in Europe. He remonstrated with Newport for his evil deeds, both in England and in the colony; and Newport acknowledged his guilt. Had he not "cried peccavi," says Smith, "the president would have discharged the ship, and made him stay one year in Virginia, to learn to speak from his own experience." But he went back, to tell his own story so advantageously to himself, that he was sent out the next year as second in naval rank to the admiral, Sir George Somers. On the other hand, Smith, the most sagacious, enterprising, energetic, faithful, and useful governor the plantation had ever had, was coldly received, never again employed, nor, to the day of his death, compensated at all for his services, expenses, and sacrifices. (Smith's Va. pp. 69-71; Stith, pp. 84-101, 102.)

We do not wish to represent Sir Thomas Smith as pre-eminently fit to devise and regulate the process by which the new plantation would be best formed and brought to maturity. He was a wealthy merchant, and an amiable and honest man. But the care of his private concerns, and of those of the East-India Company, and three others, — Muscovy, North-west Passage, and Somers Island, of which he was governor, — in addition to the importunities and multifarious distractions which inevitably beset and harass capitalists and men in high official or influential stations, must have put it out of his power to give a constant personal attention to the numerous and novel affairs involved in the foundation and management of the infant colony. He was obliged to trust to the integrity and judgment of the Council, or of the Deputy-Treasurer and managing committee. Their greater familiarity with the proceedings and the details of business gave them a controlling influence; and his opinion was sometimes overruled, and his official sanction given, to measures of which he disapproved. For instance, the severe code of laws drawn up by Strachey was objected to by him before it was sent out; and he wrote to Captain Martin in Virginia to that effect. It is likewise morally impossible that he should willingly have affixed his signature to the reproachful letter of August, 1618, sent to his kinsman, Argall, and the subsequent extraordinary orders issued for the arrest of Argall; first, for trial in England, and afterwards, for trial in Virginia. The conspiracy got up for his removal from the place of Treasurer, which induced him to decline being a candidate for re-election at the Easter quarterly meeting of 1619, led him to many a sacrifice of his own feelings and opinions, rather than give his enemies a further pretext for their calumny. That he had the respect of the Company generally, even of those who wished to displace him, was evinced by their gift of twenty thousand acres of land in Virginia after he had quitted office. (Hamor, p. 1; Answer to Bargrave's Petition to Committee of Grievances; H. Com's, Nov. 1621; Stith, pp. 150, 151, 158, 159.)

The Assembly, however, was so much swayed by party animosity, that they accompanied their answer to Johnson with the remark that "he had great reason to commend Sir Thomas Smith, to whose offences and infamy he had been so inseparably linked;" a remark totally irreconcilable with any just or candid review of his position and conduct in office.

The Assembly next addressed to the king a special refutation of each of the misrepresentations contained in Butler's "Unmasking of Virginia." Both the address to the king and the answer appended to it are full of excessively bitter abuse of Butler. A letter was also written to the Privy Council, expressing their grateful sense of the king's favor in making a reduction of threepence a pound in the custom on tobacco, and their hope that the duty would be reduced to the amount, five per cent, fixed by the charter. They protested, also, against the misrepresentations of Butler, without naming him; professed ignorance of any such impending dangers and ruin as had been alleged, as grounds for the contemplated

massacre on the Salvages parte, and on the parte of the Englishe a later attempt of poysoninge Opochancano and others.

change of the government; but, in whatever way his Majesty might be pleased to dispose of them, were desirous that the future governors should have an authority, not absolute, but requiring the concurrence of the Council; and that the Council should retain its name, and not be styled, as had been proposed, the Board of Assistants. They suggested that it would, as it had done, involve inconveniences, if the Governor and Council were held to a strict fulfilment of instructions out of England, given by those who, living at a great distance, had often only an imperfect knowledge of the country; or, if any project of great importance should be set on foot, without the approbation of the local government. They objected to the three years' term of the governor's office, as too short. The first year, the governors were unacquainted with the country, and generally in bad health; in the second, they began to understand something of the affairs of the colony; and the third, they were preparing to return. In conclusion, they entreated the Privy Council that they might retain the liberty of their General Assemblies, which, more than any thing, would contribute to the content and welfare of the community. (Stith, pp. 305-316.)

John Pountis, a member of the Council, was charged with the duty of laying these papers before the king, and the Privy Council. He died on the passage; and the papers, with his effects, were returned to Virginia. The lords of the council, thoroughly informed of their contents, were desirous to obtain the originals, as the most authentic documents; and therefore claimed Pountis's effects of the Governor, Sir Francis Wyatt, and his council. The effects they did not obtain. But the papers were soon after intrusted to the care of Pountis's successor, Sir George Yeardley, by the Governor and Council, who prayed to be heard by him; and also, to submit their case to Lord Paget; Sir Richard Weston, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Humphrey May, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and Sir Robert Killigrew, — four of the commissioners for Virginia, appointed by the king on the 15th of July, 1624, under the presidency of the Viscount Mandeville. Had Pountis lived, he would have found, on arriving in London, that his voyage had been made in vain, and that the fate of the charter had already been sealed. But, before we relate how this was effected, it is well to notice two errors of Stith. He says (p. 330), that, "although a writ of Quo Warranto was issued against the Company, yet I cannot understand, although I have taken no small pains to find it out, that it ever came to an issue or determination." He thereupon assumes, as a fixed fact, that it never did come to a regular conclusion, and that the Company was actually dissolved by proclamation, while the suit was pending. Accordingly, he denounces the proceeding as an arbitrary and barefaced act of injustice and oppression. The real facts, however, show this to be a great waste of virtuous indignation. In the suit on the Quo Warranto, judgment was given in the king's favor by the justices of the King's Bench, on the 16th of June, 1624; and the process itself, as certain to be fatal to the Company, was complained of and included with other grievances alleged in the petition of the Company, presented to the House of Commons on the 26th of April, by the Deputy Treasurer, Nicholas Ferrar. Stith appears not to have known that the king had been previously advised by his Attorney-General and Solicitor-General that he had both cause and a legal right to resume the charter and government of the colony, and that, to save time, it would be best not to take a legal course of resumption, which would require time, but to proceed at once by royal proclamation. He seems, also, to have forgotten what he had narrated at page 298, signature X.; namely, that the Company, on learning that the writ of Quo Warranto had been served on the 10th of November, "cheerfully acknowledged this to be a fair and legal manner of proceeding." For he, on the other hand, probably with the later notorious abuses in the reigns of the second Charles and James floating in his mind, condemns the writ as "oppressive in itself; and, for the most part, turned to very base and illegal purposes." Yet, it was no more an instrument of oppression, nor more susceptible of perversion or abuse, than any other process or form of suit at that day between king and subject. The

I conceive that by the dispersion of the Plantations the Savage hath the advantage in this warre and that by their suddaine assaults they doe vs more harme then wee doe them by our sett voyages.

fault was not in the writ, but in the constitution of the courts of justice. The judges all held their places on the bench, at the pleasure or caprice of the king; and, wherever the official existence, and, possibly, daily bread of these administrators of justice, depend on the favor of either a monarch or people, it is certain that justice will often, as in the present instance, be sacrificed to expediency and self-interest. The second error committed by Stith, is in representing (p. 328), that the report of the commissioners, Harvey and Pory, which he assumes to be unfavorable to the charter government, had led the king to recall the patent and dissolve the Company; as was done by his proclamation of the 15th of July, 1624, transferring the management and control of the colony to Lord Viscount Mandeville, and above fifty other commissioners, one of whom was John Pory. But the king's determination to do all this, so far from being the effect of the report, had been announced by the king, as Stith himself relates (p. 303, signature U.), on the 8th of October, in the preceding year, before the commissioners left England. It was repeated in the king's letter of the 26th of April, to the Speaker, and again, in his message to the Committee of Grievances, on the 25th of May, only four days before the end of the session of 1624. (Chalmers's MS. Notes, English St. Papers; Peckard's Ferrar, pp. 149-152.)

The proceedings on the Quo Warranto were a farce. The judges were morally constrained to do what their king and master desired, but was ashamed to do himself by proclamation. When the cause came on, the argument of Coventry, the king's Attorney-General, against the patent, was, that "it was, in general, an unlimited vast patent. In particular, the main inconvenience was, that by the words of the charter the Company had power given them to carry away and transport to Virginia as many of the king's *loving* subjects as were desirous to go thither; and consequently, said he, they may, in the end, carry away *all* the king's subjects into a foreign land, and *so leave his Majesty a kingdom here indeed, but no subjects* in it. And if this should be the case, *what will then become of him or us?* This is certainly a strange clause; and the patent wherein it is contained, ought to be forfeited."

"This weighty argument extorted a smile even from the judges and the lawyers employed to carry on the prosecution. Nevertheless, it was admitted; for the determination was made, previous to entering upon the merits of the cause, what the decree should be. The Attorney-General then proceeded, and said he had found a flaw in the Company's answer, which, if admitted, contained, on the one hand, too much; and, on the other, too little; and therefore, being such a nicety in law, he craved sentence upon it, as insufficient."

"Sentence was thereupon given, that the Patent, or Charter, of English merchants trading to Virginia, and pretending to exercise a power and authority over his Majesty's subjects there, should be thenceforth null and void." (Peckard's Ferrar, pp. 145-147.)

This decision took place in the King's Bench, in Trinity term, before Chief-Justice Ley, the 16th of June, 1624. We do not find it noticed in any of the English Reports. (Edward D. Neill, Boston Transcript, 21st April, 1869.)

The king thus, at the sacrifice of all justice and honor, succeeded in wresting the charter from the Virginia Company; but, to his sorrow, found that, after all, he had only gained a shadow for the substance he had so greedily coveted. The revenue he had hitherto extorted from tobacco, was not now to be hoped for. Virginia tobacco was so low in price that it would no longer bear the old duty of twelvepence a pound; nor even the ninepence to which the duty had been reduced in April, 1623; and Spanish tobacco, which could well bear it, and had been a profitable source of revenue, was entirely prohibited. To add to his disappointment, at the instigation of his faithless favorite, Buckingham, the unscrupulous Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, who suggested and managed his fiscal robberies, was impeached, among other charges, for his criminal oppression of Virginia in despoiling her of

*Remedies against the daunger from the Savages and meanes to
advauce the Plantation.*

To strengthen the weaker and more remote plantations with newe Commers.

To plant Chiskiake scituat vpon the Pamunkey river very strongly, and to run a pale from thence to Martins hundred, which will add safety, strength, plenty, and increase of cattle to the plantation and greate advantage from that place to assaile the Enemy in his Cheifest strength.

To maintaine by land and by water a little body of two hundred men for two or three yeares continually to infest the Indians and to destroye theire houses, corne, weares canooes. The Planters to bee exercised in armes by the Cheifes of each Plantation (a thinge neglecte[d] duringe my aboad there) for the effectinge whereof the Countrey must bee stored sufficiently with armes and munition which must not bee wasted unnecessarily in triumphes, entertaynments and the like.

For the future advancement of the Plantation there must bee an established forme of government setled amoungst them there, and another here in England; both managed by such men as maie bee subiect & answerable i[n] theire perticular persons for all theire proceedinges to his Majestie and the Lords of his Majesties privy Counsell.

The immoderate plantinge of tobacco must bee restrained

the patent, and dissolving the Company, upon fabulous and shallow pretexts; and, after a trial which lasted a month, was deprived of his office of Lord Treasurer, fined fifty thousand pounds, and committed prisoner to the Tower of London. The king himself lived only a few days more than nine months longer, to enjoy the fruits of his perfidy. (Peckard, *ut supra*. II. Birch, James, p. 455-457; Stith, p. 328; Order in Council, 28th April, 1623; Clarendon I. p. 22.)

Lord Southampton, the late Treasurer, in August, 1624, was appointed to the chief command of the English troops in the Netherlands. In deference to his military merit, he was allowed to have place and precedence over his senior, the Earl of Oxford, in the field, and in martial operations. Having first lost his eldest son, he was attacked with a fever, which proved fatal in the winter following. (II. Birch, James, p. 470; Stith, p. 331.)

and the people inforced to plant more necessary commodities most agreeable to the severall grounds they live on.

People must not bee permitted to passe to Virginia in too greate numbers for certaine yeares to come because there are no publique guest houses, and men in their private houses are not able to rec[eive] them. And those that are to goe must bee largely provided with armes munition tooles victualls & apparell for one whole yeare. And for prevention of infection in the passage and in the Countrey the shipps must not bee pestered with multitudes.

There must better Care bee had of the expendinge of the publique stocke then formerly hath bynn for of all that which within these last six yeares hath bynne disbursed there remaines noe publique worke, as guest house, bridge, store house, munition house, publique granary, fortification, church or the like, the whole remainder beinge a fewe tennants at halves whose time[s] are nere expired.

The rumors of plenty to bee found at all time[s] in Virginia which of late yeares haue bynne published in printe and privately informed and assured by some persons here, thereby to incourage men to goe over vnprovided must no longer bee permitted. Of which divers in the Countrey haue complayned to mee.

This short and true relation of the present St[ate] [*a line destroyed.* The words omitted are probably "of the Plantation." . . . what meanes are to bee vsed for the advauncing of that Plantation, I humbly present and submitt to your Lordshipps better Judgment, Only this I will adde that there is not a Countre[y] in the same Climate throughout the whole world that gives better hopes of benefitt then Virginia if it bee well vndertaken & diligently followed.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL'S LETTER TO THE LORDS OF TRADE
AND PLANTATIONS. 1626.

RIGHT HONOURABLE, — Thee 23th of March, arrived the good Shipp, the Virgine of Southampton, with letters from your Lordshipps of the 24th of October last, whereby wee vnderstand his Majesties Royall Care of this Plantacion, as well in present supplie of our wants, as in taking order for the full and perfect setling of the afaires therof to the greate incouragement of the whole Collony. Shee brings vs an earnest of those larger supplies graciously promised by his Majestie in Comodities, though in proportion not answerable to our greate wants, yet all very vsefull, and well Conditioned for which wee must acknowledge, our greate bond to your Lordshipps & in perticuler, to our singular good Lord, the lord high Treasurer.

Wee must euer acknowledge it a singular favour from his Majestie that hee hath bine pleased to remitt the im-

NOTE. — Charles succeeded to the throne at the death of his father, on the 27th of March (6 April N.S.), 1625. In the second week of his reign, on the 9th of April, he confirmed by proclamation the existing prohibition of the import, sale, or use of Spanish tobacco, and of all other kinds, except that of Virginia and Bermuda. Export, duty free, of such prohibited tobacco, was permitted until the 4th of the following May.

On the 13th of May, a second proclamation announced his intention to exercise his sovereign power, in framing for the colony of Virginia a new government, immediately dependent on himself, and not on any company or corporation, to consist of two councils; the first, in England, subordinate to his Privy Council; the second, in Virginia, under the control of the first. The import and sale of the colonial tobacco was to be entirely under his own control and management; he paying the colonial owners such prices as might give them reasonable satisfaction and encouragement. The manner, however, in which these intentions were to be carried into effect, was to be determined at some future period of greater leisure. Owing to the plague then in London, the summons of a new parliament, the approaching marriage of the king with the sister of Louis XIII., and his subsequent civil, political, ecclesiastical, and domestic cares and troubles, this interval of leisure did not occur for several years. Sir Francis Wyatt and his Council were left, with little interference, to administer the colonial government almost at their own discretion, under the commission given them by King James. All official correspondence with the colony was intrusted to the Privy Council, of which Lord Mandeville, now created Earl of Manchester, continued to be the President; although the Mandeville Board of Commissioners, created by King James, was not formally dissolved, or even superseded, until the 27th of June, 1631. At that time, a special commission was issued to the Earl of Dorset, and twenty-two associates, conferring on them no civil authority, or control over the administration of affairs in Virginia, but simply power to examine, consider, and report to the Council upon the past and present state of the colony

position vppon Tobacco in Consideracion of Supplyeing of the Collony, and wee humbly desire that your Lordshipp wilbe pleased to take order that it may bee as well performed on their partts as promised, since wee vnderstand not as yet of any shipp, sett out by them, except it should bee the William & John which is a smale Shipp, and her Course by the West Indies, as the tymes are full of hazard, and makes our Supplie by her vncertaine, neither can it bee greate as well in respect of the passengers, which shée is to land their, as of the Comodities, which may bee likelie to bee vented their.

Nothing hath bine longe more earnestly desired, then the settling of the affaires of the Collony, as well for the gouernment as other wayes neither could ther have bine a greater incouragment to the Planter, then to vnderstand it to bee his Majesties gracious pleasure that no person of whom they have heretofore iustlie complayned should

and its productions; and likewise "to propose by what good ways the colony might be better advanced and settled in future times,"—"to the end," says the commission, "that we may declare our further pleasure concerning the premises, as we shall see best." (I. Hazard, pp. 202, 203, 312; II. Burke, pp. 8, 11; Campbell, p. 379.)

The proclamation, above-mentioned, of the 9th of April, was designed, not so much to express the king's particular concern for the welfare of Virginia, as to avow his fixed determination to pursue the hostile policy towards Spain which the two houses of the last parliament, in conference soon after the return of Charles from Madrid, had, by the representations of Buckingham, been led, in a moment of excitement, to uphold and recommend to King James. The ardor of Charles was quickened by the capture, a few days before, of three English ships by some of the Spanish Dunkirkers then infesting the English coast and channel. Although the Spanish resident hastened to excuse the affair, and to assure the King that most ample indemnity should instantly be made, he only obtained a cold refusal of all indemnity, followed by the King's intimation that "he should find time to make himself amends." (I. Clarendon, p. 20, Oxford ed. 1705; I. Birch, Charles, p. 5.)

The first parliament of Charles, however, was not so eager for a war with Spain, as the last of James had been. The temporary popularity of Buckingham had vanished; and he was now an object of general distrust and hatred. He was looked upon as a vain, presumptuous adventurer, without the virtues of a patriot, or the qualities of a statesman; and, for the purpose of keeping himself in power, ready at all times to compromise the interests of the sovereign and the nation. To him, as the favorite and unscrupulous adviser of Charles, the faults and mischiefs of the early part of the reign of the latter were constantly ascribed. The king's habitual and almost defiant assertion of his own absolute sovereignty, had also created in the community great apprehension and anxiety for the safety of the rights of the people, and of their representatives in parliament.

The royal proclamation of the 13th of May, noticed above, was purely a work of supererogation in all points but that of publicly declaring his determination to reign as an absolute monarch, whose will was law. Forewarned by this and other avowals of similar import,

have any hand in the gouernment, either here or their. And wee humbly desire your Lordshipps to sollicit his Majestie (if it bee not alreadie done) for the speedie accomplishment therof, the rather because the Gouverners necessary occasions require his present retourne.

His Majesties gracious assurance, that euery man shall have his perticuler right preserved & enlarged with Addition of reasonable imunities, wilbe a singular meanes of inviting many people hither, and setling themselves here, who for the most partt heretofore (by reason of many distractions and discouragements) have only endeavored a present Cropp, & ther hasty retourne to the greate hinderance of raying staple Comodities, & all works of worth and Continewance, which all men will with earnestnes and alacrytie applie themselves to, when ther thoughts are fixed in this Country, and much the rather, if your Lord-

the first House of Commons assembled in his reign, resolved to secure their own and the people's rights from the encroachments of arbitrary power. They voted him two subsidies, or £112,000, and the duties of customs; not for life, as usual, but for one year only. The House of Lords, considering this grant totally inadequate, and the latter part of it an insult to the king, refused to sanction it by their vote. The Commons, regardless of the dissent of the Upper House, busied themselves in the examination of grievances which they would require to be redressed before taking up the subject of a further supply. The king felt the compulsion contemplated as an indignity, an unwarrantable obstruction of the public service, and an invasion and usurpation of the inherent and exclusive sovereignty of the Crown. Finding the Commons inflexible, he dissolved the parliament on the 12th of August; and immediately after, to obtain the means of carrying on the government at home and the wars abroad, he had recourse to forced loans, and took possession of the revenue derived from the customs duties. The collection and custody of these duties of tonnage and poundage, as they were termed, being in the hands of crown officers, and, therefore, easily appropriated, were accordingly expended by the king as he saw fit, without any previous appropriation; and also, without any remonstrance from Parliament until 1629. But the wars with Austria, Spain, and France, and the consequent stagnation of commerce, made the amount gained from these duties quite insufficient for his wants.

In the existing poverty of the exchequer, to relinquish any portion of the duty on Virginia tobacco, as thankfully acknowledged in the letter above, might at first seem to be a generous sacrifice on the part of the king for the benefit of the colony. But the king, having reserved to himself an actual monopoly of colonial tobacco, could easily indemnify himself for the amount of duty remitted, by either paying the planter less, or making the English consumer pay more for tobacco. Buckingham, whose ascendancy over the king was as absolute as his rapacity was unscrupulous and insatiable, would be very apt to make a merit of repairing his master's loss in either, or both ways, without caring at whose expense.

For whatever benefit was derived from this remission, the colony was indebted to its agent, Sir George Yeardley; and he, in turn, to Buckingham, in whose good graces he could hardly have stood so high as to obtain the favor sought for his constituents, and the appoint-

shippes shall obtaine of his Majestie the remission (for the present) of the imposition vppon Tobacco, and other Commodities, for the perfecting whereof since as yett, we must bee inhabled by vppholding the price of Tobacco. Wee humbly beseech his Majestie to Continew his favour in prohibiting the importacion and Sale of all Tobacco, except from this Collony and the Somer Ilands. And here wee cannot but make remonstrance to your Lordshipps how preiudittall those pettie Plantacions of the English in the Salvage Ilands in the West Indies must needs proue to this Collony in effect to the vtter ouerthrowing of the benefitt of the sole importacion graunted to vs by his Majestie both in respect of the quantities they may send, and that vnder Collier therof, much Spain Tobacco may bee imported and Vented. And if the said Prohibition bee not strictly and precisely lookt to, the Marchant (who now

ment, also, of governor for himself, unless he had turned his back upon his old company friends and patrons, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the rest, who were the avowed enemies of Buckingham.

For the management of the royal traffic in tobacco, no specific plan or code of permanent regulations was adopted. All was kept under the ostensible control of the king; and, as occasion required, decided on at intervals, and on the spur of the moment. Under the pressure of nearer and more general and important concerns, the king could only give a cursory and infrequent attention to the affairs of a distant colony. Irregularities naturally followed the caprice of the hour. In January, 1627, the king ordered all foreign tobacco to be seized, alleging that the colonies would be destroyed, if any tobacco but their own were allowed to be brought into the kingdom. Yet, in the next month, he allowed fifty thousand pounds of foreign tobacco to be imported, and ordered all colonial tobacco to be sealed. Six months later he issued a proclamation prohibiting the importation of colonial tobacco except by his special license, and on condition that it should be delivered to his commissioners. In 1631, tobacco of foreign growth and of home growth were prohibited by ordinance, and colonial tobacco allowed to be brought only into the port of London. (Chalmers's Annals, p. 129.)

Until 1633, the inhabitants of Virginia often suffered from insufficient supplies, and were unable to sell their tobacco whenever the king suspended his shipments from England and purchases in the colony. Articles of clothing and other necessities of life might be obtained, occasionally, in small quantities, from vessels on the fishing-grounds, from Canada, or from vessels casually met with at sea, or hovering on the coast. The relief obtained from all these sources, was partial and uncertain. Imported articles, notwithstanding occasional fluctuations, advanced in price; and tobacco, the only staple of the colony, declined. The injury thus inflicted on the inhabitants and planters was still further aggravated by speculators and merchants, who either owned or bought up all commodities brought into the country, and would only sell them at exorbitant prices. An artificial scarcity was, in this way, created, which led to a competition among the consumers, whose necessities constrained them to outbid each other in the quantity of tobacco offered in exchange; and, of course, blindly to lower its value, both as merchandise, and as a substitute for currency.

hardly keeps himself within the bounds of our Proclaymacion, Concerning the rates of Comodities) will take advantage ther vppon to inhaunse his prizes excessively, wherby the Collony wilbe kept in pouerty as formerly.

Those greate important workes of suppressing the Indians, discoureries by sea and land, and Fortificacion against a forren enemy, that they may be throughly and effectually performed, will require no less numbers, then Five hundred soldiers, to bee yearely sent ouer, for Certaine yeares, with a full yeares provision of Victuall, aparrell, armes, Munition, tooles, and all necessaries to which worthie designses the Collony wilbe alwayes readie to yeald ther best furtherance and assistance, as they haue bine very forward since the Massacre, notwithstanding ther great losse then sustayned, and wee Conceive soe great expence, will haue the better successe, if the ordering therof be refered to the

One of the last acts of the General Assembly, at the close of Pott's administration in 1629, allowed tillers of the soil to plant three thousand plants of tobacco a head, and one thousand only, where the family comprised women and children who did not "work in the ground;" unless, upon complaint, the Governor and Council should order a further proportion. The instructions to Governor Wyatt in 1621 had fixed the limit at one hundred lbs. per head to be planted; but, on the 30th of April, 1628, Governor Pott, with the assent of the Council and Assembly, issued a proclamation directing that "such a *reasonable* proportion of tobacco shall be planted only as may be cultivated without injury to a plentiful crop of corn." Sir John Harvey, who succeeded Pott in the autumn of 1629, finding that the excess lately produced of tobacco, had caused great negligence in the cultivation and curing of it, to the detriment of its quality and marketable value and estimation, reduced by act of Assembly the number of plants allowed per head to two thousand. Another act was passed at the same session, 1630, making engrossing and forestalling of commodities imported punishable by the forfeiture of treble the value of the goods. The current market price of tobacco at this period was probably at its lowest ebb. Harvey wrote the Council that the merchants had bought their tobacco at less than one penny per pound. In 1632, sixpence per pound was the lowest rate at which tobacco was allowed to be exchanged for imported articles at their first cost in England. In Sir Francis Wyatt's time, 1640, an act of Assembly prohibited the sale of tobacco made that year, for less than twelvepence the pound, and of that of the next year's crop, at less than two shillings, on forfeiture of the whole crop. In 1643, under Sir William Berkeley, the secretary was allowed to commute his fees, payable in tobacco, for money, at the rate of threepence per pound, if the debtor chose to pay in money. Near the end of 1645, when Richard Kemp, in the absence of Sir William Berkeley, held the place of governor, it was contemplated to disuse tobacco as currency in trade, to introduce Spanish coins of silver, and to issue copper tokens. The price of tobacco, with which the copper was to be purchased, was estimated at one penny and a half the pound. (I. Hening, pp. 115, 130, 162, 226, 265, 308; Chalmers's MSS. notes, St. Papers.)

The quantity of this article produced in Virginia increased every year. In seven years, from 1614 to 1621, the average import into England of all kinds, was only 142,085 pounds.

Gouverner & Counsell here residing, with the advise (in speciall Cases) of the generall Assembly, Both Concerning this, and alother things which may Conduce to the setling of the Plantacion, wee have formerly given your Lordships Advertisment, in the generall Assemblies answere to the fflowre propositions propounded by your Lordships to the Comissioners sent hither, and wee doubt not but Sir George Yardly hath given your Lordships full informacion of all things necessary. But that nothing bee wanting on our parts, by the next Shippes wee will give your Lordships more full aduertisement, what Courses wee Conceive most propper and assured for Advancement of this Noble Accion, tending soe much to the glory of God, and his Majesties Honour as farr as experience vpon the place shall inhable our weake abilities. By the next alsoe wee shall Advertise your Lordships of the Titles and

In March, 1629, the General Assembly, in their reply to the king's letter of the preceding June, offered to supply him with all their tobacco at three shillings and sixpence delivered in Virginia, and four shillings in London; and requested that he would take at least 500,000 lbs.; and, if he should not take the overplus, if any, would allow them to ship it to the Low-Countries, Ireland, Turkey, or elsewhere. In 1634 the planters offered to supply the king's agents sent to Virginia with 800,000 pounds, at sixpence in Virginia, and one shilling and twopence delivered in London. Both these proposals were rejected, because both the quantity and price were considered too great. The king ordered Harvey to call an assembly of the burgesses to engage them to contract for a less quantity and price for certain years. Harvey communicated the king's commands to the Assembly, whose answer was transmitted by Kemp, the secretary. But Harvey, being thrust out of office soon after, the subject probably was lost sight of. (I. Hening, p. 135; Chalmers's MSS. notes.)

In Sir Francis Wyatt's second administration, the amount of tobacco in the colony exceeded three millions of pounds. In the first act of the Assembly of January, 1640, it is stated, that after half the good and all the bad, had, in obedience to the law, been burnt, the remainder of the tobacco would be 1,500,000 pounds, not stripped nor smoothed. The same act provided, that the next two years, one hundred and seventy pounds per poll of stripped and smoothed tobacco was to be made, yielding, in the whole, about 1,300,000 pounds; and all creditors were to take forty pound for a hundred. These data indicate that the price was expected to advance one hundred and fifty per cent; and likewise, that the population was then supposed to be 7,647. (I. Hening, p. 225.)

Campbell says, — on what authority does not appear, — that in 1629 the population was about five thousand. This would imply a quadruple increase within five years. Harvey, on the contrary, in his letter of the 29th of May, 1630, to the Privy Council, informs them that the number of people in the colony was about twenty-five hundred. He added, that he found abundance of tobacco, but corn scarce. Campbell, however, says that the colony's stock of provisions was sufficient to feed four hundred more than its own number of inhabitants. The fact that, according to Harvey, as mentioned in the preceding page, the merchants at that season bought their tobacco at one penny the pound, strongly indicates that

estate of the seuerall owners of Lands and other perticulares required by your Lordshipps wherein wee could not give your Lordshipps present satisfacion, these Shipps being suddenly to depart.

Wee shall exactly obserue his Majesties Command, that all Judgments, decrees, and important Accions, bee given determined and Vndertaken by the advise and Voyces of the greater part of the Counsell (which Course alsoe wee heretofore observed in all our proceedings) and that all be done in his Majesties name, vnder whose Royall gouernment & protection this Accion (which hath hitherto laboured vnder soe many difficulties) shall no doubt, receive

Governor Pott's policy had caused a superabundant production of tobacco, and a deficiency of corn. The population and the commerce of the colony was probably increased very considerably between the close of 1627 and that of 1629. The Rev. Joseph Meade, in August of the former year, informed a correspondent that "many ships were going to Virginia, and with them some fourteen or fifteen hundred children, which they have gathered up in divers places." (Campbell, p. 182; Chalmers's MSS. notes, St. Papers; I. Birch, Charles, p. 262; and *supra*, p. 8.)

The request in the Council's letter above, for five hundred soldiers annually, for some years, was founded on the suggestion first made, soon after the massacre, as John Smith says, by himself, to the Company in London, in reference to a "running army" of one hundred soldiers, with a barque, and thirty sailors; and which was repeated in the Assembly's fourth answer to the commissioners' four propositions, inserted above (p. 66). The appeal then made to James, failed; partly from his stolid parsimony and inertness, but chiefly from his infatuated desire for the Spanish match. One of the stipulations insisted on by the King of Spain as a condition of his consent to the marriage, was, that James should "surrender to him Virginia and the Bermudas, and altogether quit the West Indies." Although James was just beginning to extort a tobacco revenue from these colonies, it is by no means certain that he would not have been tempted to give them away for the match and a munificent dowry. The King of Spain would be a powerful ally, also, against foreign, or domestic foes. (Smith's Va. p. 152, 153; II. Birch, James, p. 301.)

But King Charles, in 1626, was utterly without the means of furnishing the colony with soldiers. His resources were so completely exhausted by the war with Spain, that he could neither pay his own soldiers or sailors, nor provide them with provisions or clothing. Hence, the colony had to sustain all the evils of a savage war for twenty years. The Indians, under Opechancanough, in April, 1644, perpetrated a second massacre. The next year, this savage chief was taken prisoner by Sir William Berkeley; and, a fortnight after, was basely shot in the back by one of his guards, in revenge of some private injury. He died after some days of suffering. He had nearly reached the age of one hundred years. In his latter days, his body was wasted away to a mere skeleton. His limbs could no longer sustain him, and he was carried from place to place. He was unable to see, unless his eyelids were opened for him. But neither corporal suffering, physical infirmity, nor the loss of his kingdom and personal liberty, could overcome his strength of mind and elevation of spirit. He retained them unimpaired to the last. His successor, Nicotowance, in 1646, made a treaty of peace with the colony, and submitted himself and his subjects to the authority of the King of England. (Eng. Dom. St. Papers, 1626, vol. xix., Charles I.; Beverley Va., pp. 49-51; I. Henning, 323, 326, 327.)

the due perfeccion, and (as wee neuer did) soe wee shall always forbear the Chosing of any officers for longer tyme then duering his Majesties pleasure.

Thus beseeching your Lordships to Continew the Patronage of this Plantacion, that the beames of his Majesties favour may by your Meditation and Counsell shine, and bee derived vpon us, to Cherish our Indeavours, and quicken our new springing hopes, that no Contrary gusts may nip them in the bud, nor envious Cloud interpose it self betweene vs and that Comfortable light, wee humbly take our leaves.

Your Lordships very humble Servants,

FRANCIS WYATT.

FRANCIS WEST.

RAPHE HAMOR.

ROGER SMITH.

ABRAHAM PERSEY.

WILLIAM CLAYBOURNE.

JAMES CITTIE y^e 6th of Aprill 1626.

Indorsed, "6 Aprill 1626 — from the Gouvernor & Companie of Virginia."

CAPTAIN THOMAS YONG'S VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA AND DELAWARE BAY AND RIVER IN 1634.*

CAPTAIN THOMAS YONG TO SIR TOBIE MATTHEW :

WORTHY SIR, — On the 16th of May, being Friday, while I was writing to [you] from Falmouth the winds came some what faire, and soe I gave orders presently to

* The design of Thomas Yong's voyage, as described in the three papers here published, was to explore the Delaware River to its source, in the hope of finding a navigable passage to the Pacific Ocean, and to examine the intervening country, and its capabilities for trade and settlement.

The prosecution of the enterprise was protected by a royal commission, issued in September, 1633. It gave Captain Yong authority to fit out armed vessels for the voyage to Virginia, and other adjacent parts of America; to take possession, in the king's name, of all territory discovered, not yet inhabited by any Christian people; to occupy it with his company; to establish factories there; to enjoy the sole right of trade and commerce, internal and maritime; to make such regulations, and appoint such officers, as he thought necessary for the preservation of order and civil government; to inhibit and expel all persons attempt-

weigh Anchor ; the winds continued very prosperous almost three weeks, and then wee were overtaken by a violent storme at North-west, which lasted three days. In

ing to trade with, or visit places or countries so discovered, without a special license under his hand and seal; with absolute power to govern, rule, punish, correct, and execute, as any general of the army might do. He was also allowed to fortify with fortresses and ordnance, and, at discretion, to leave part of the company with arms and other necessary supplies for defence in his absence. All governors were required to aid him and give him a free passage through their colonies. (I. Hazard, p. 338; Rymer, XIX. p. 472.)

The first letter above, besides an account of Yong's passage from England to Virginia, contains a recital of the Governor, Sir John Harvey's troubles and perplexities, which should relieve his memory from some of the heavy censures which have at times, with little discrimination or forbearance, been cast upon it. It may be noted here, that Sir John had probably expended all the money he had earned as executor of his friend Hare, and depended chiefly on the salary of his office for his ordinary expenses. The salary, one thousand pounds a year, was never paid; at least not until he was compelled to visit London in 1635. He was consequently often in great pecuniary distress and discredit. His embarrassments were aggravated, and constantly accumulating, from the circumstance that he was obliged to entertain at his house not only his council, at all their frequent meetings in Jamestown, but also, as there was no public house of entertainment there, all "sorts of strangers;" so that his house was "a harbor for all comers," and he was "inforced to kill his own draught oxen for the supply of his house."

The first planter that came on board Yong's vessel, was Captain Clayborne, who seems to have been well known, by intuition or report, both to the lieutenant, whose ship he first visited, and to Yong himself. Lord Baltimore's agents had shortly before, on their first arrival, obstructed the lawful trade of the Virginians with the Indians; and, in violation of the king's wishes and express authority, seized a vessel of Clayborne's that was engaged in the trade which he had been following for three years by the king's special permission; and killed his lieutenant, Warren, and several others, whom he had sent to rescue the vessel. Of course, he could not feel so favorably disposed towards Lord Baltimore or his agents, as to join his lordship's partisans in chanting his praises. Although his language was temperate and somewhat reserved, yet not offensively so, Yong adopted his lieutenant's interpretation of some casual expressions, not specified, as plainly showing that Clayborne "had much malice in his heart" against his lordship and his agents. If he had said just and honest indignation, he would have been nearer the truth. He also accuses Clayborne of giving, in a long conversation on the subject of the treatment he had endured at the hands of those agents, a false excuse for not repairing to a meeting appointed by the Governor, Harvey, at the suggestion of those agents, for the alleged purpose of a mutual settlement of their differences. The whole project was a delusion; a stratagem to obtain, by his attendance, a sanction for his condemnation, which was sure to follow, because Sir John Harvey had already given proofs of his inclination to favor the Marylanders, to the injury of Clayborne, both in regard to their seizure of his vessel, and their accusation of his exciting the Indians against them. It was quite in keeping with Yong's whole conduct, that, even before landing, he should take the first opportunity that offered to court the favor of Lord Baltimore's agents by divulging, as he did, all Clayborne's conversation to Captain Cornwallis, who was then in company with, and on board the ship of Governor Harvey. (I. Savage's Winthrop, pp. 134-139; II. Force's Tr-Virginia and Maryland, pp. 7, 8, 9, 21; III. Hubbard's Belknap, Ch. XXVI.; Chalmers's Ann. pp. 131, 206; Colonial Papers, p. 191, vol. viii. § 32.)

Two years later. Yong's nephew, George Evelin, came out to Maryland as the agent of Cleobury & Co., of London, the partners of Clayborne; and having persuaded Clayborne to agree to leave the concern in his hands, and visit London in compliance with their request, for the purpose of explaining his proceedings and adjusting accounts, after all preparations for

this storme, my own ship grew extreame leake (leaky). We rummaged our hold, as soone as it was fayer, and found a very dangerous leake under her kelson, which we

the voyage were made, refused to sign or exchange the inventories of the property made, and to be signed by both, or to give bond for the preservation of the same in Clayborne's absence, as had been specially enjoined in the instructions of Cleobury & Co. Nor was this the end of his villany. When Clayborne was at sea, on the voyage contemplated by all parties, Evelin basely reported that he had absconded, managed by falsehood to get into his possession, to embezzle and sell, not only the partnership property, but also the private property, valued at six thousand pounds, of Captain Clayborne; and finally, to complete his treachery, surrendered the island to Lord Baltimore, in violation of all exceptions and reservations made for the protection of vested rights, and in defiance of the express injunctions of the king. So thoroughly was Charles convinced of the moral, if not legal, injustice which Clayborne had experienced at the hands of the Maryland authorities, that in July, 1638, at the instance of William Cleobury, whose confidence had been perfidiously betrayed by George Evelyn, he wrote to Lord Baltimore not to interfere with Cleobury and his partners, planters in Kent Island, who should rather be encouraged in so good a work. He added that he had understood that his lordship's agents had slain three persons, possessed themselves of the island by force, and seized the persons and estates of the planters; these disorders had been referred to the Commissioners of Plantations; and therefore, his lordship was commanded to allow the planters and their agents the free enjoyment of their possessions, without further trouble, until the case was decided. (Sebastian F. Streeter's *First Commander of Kent Island, Baltimore, 1638*; II. Force, pp. 5-13, 9th tract "Virginia and Maryland; Colonial Papers," vol. viii. §§ 32, 33, p. 191; vol. ix. pp. 177, 120; Chalmers's *Annals*, pp. 131, 206.)

The grand object was to make Maryland predominantly Catholic; and the villany of Yong's nephew was therefore helped on and regarded as a work of merit; and, very possibly, concerted in England, with Yong's co-operation and counsel, before his nephew, George Evelyn, left for Maryland.

Yong was, in all probability, a Catholic. The individuals to whom, in the close of his letter, he desires that it should be shown, were all Catholics, openly or in disguise.

The *Lord Treasurer*, Earl of Portland, previously known as Sir Richard Weston, with his sons, sometimes went to church, but his wife and daughters to Mass; and his domestics and dependants, with whom only he used entire freedom, were all known to be Papists. *Lord Cottington*, became a Catholic in Spain, when ambassador there, about 1610-11; but, on his return to England, declared that he had again embraced the Protestant faith. Towards the close of his life, in Spain, with great difficulty, he prevailed on the ecclesiastical rulers to readmit him into the Roman Church; and he repaired to the city of Valladolid, and lived and died in a house prepared for him by the English Jesuits there. Sir *Francis Windebanke*, whom Clarendon designates as "an extraordinary patron indeed" of the Papists, and the House of Commons, in their reply to objections, stigmatizes as a creature and confidant of Laud's, was in the habit of protecting them on all occasions, and under all circumstances, whether warranted by law or not; even releasing them by warrant when under sentence of death for treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. He only escaped the fate of Archbishop Laud, who was accused in the House of Commons about the same time, by fleeing to France. Lord Baltimore was an avowed Catholic. His father, Sir George Calvert, resigned the office of Secretary of State under King James, on account of his change of religion. But the king retained him in the Privy Council, and created him Baron of Baltimore. Refusing to take the oath of allegiance, he was excluded from the council of Charles the First. His conversion to the Romish faith, only suspected at the time of his resigning the secretaryship, ceased to be a matter of doubt when it was publicly known that he had gone to the North of England in company with Sir Tobias Matthew, whom Rushworth calls "a Jesuited priest of the order of politicians;" and the House of Commons, in

stopped, though yet our pumps gave us notice, that we had other leakes also yet unfounde; thus we continued some 9 or 10 days, when in another storme our ship

their reply to Laud's objections, stigmatized as "a creature of Laud," and "the most active Jesuit in the Kingdom." From what is said in the beginning of the "Brief Relation," — the third of Yong's papers above, — it is certain, that it was to this same Sir Tobias Matthew, that this letter was addressed, as well as the other of the 16th of May, mentioned in its first line. (Clarendon, I. pp. 50, 177, 179; III. pp. 330, 332; Rushworth, III. 1321; Neal's Puritans, III. p. 194; I. Birch, James, p. 560; Gage's W. Indies, pp. 206-8; Hume, ch. 54.)

Tobias Matthew was the eldest son of the distinguished prelate of the same name, who, after being at the head of two colleges, and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, was Bishop of Durham, and finally, Archbishop of York. Tobias, the son, was a student in Christ Church from 1690 to 1694, his father being at the time Dean of that college. William Laud, — afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, — Dudley Carleton, and George Calvert, both afterwards Secretaries of State, and ennobled, were his fellow-collegians. Laud and himself were admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts within a month of each other; Carleton one year, and Calvert three years, later. Ralph Winwood, also, who, in 1617, died Secretary of State, was Proctor of the same college in the second year of Matthew's novitiate. These brother Oxonians were all his friends; and, when circumstances permitted, his intimates also, to the end of their days. Between Carleton and himself, a most amicable intimacy appears to have subsisted ten years after their college days. They corresponded when apart, lent books to each other freely, and were jointly interested in leasehold property, which they held under the Dowager Countess of Derby. (II. Athen. Oxon. p. 402; Fasti Part I. pp. 258, 266, 272, 275; Dom. St. Papers, 1604, 3d July, p. 128, vol. viii.; p. 164, vol. x.; 1605, Feb. 13, pp. 195, 207, 213, vol. xii.)

Matthew left the university with the reputation of a good scholar, orator, and disputant. Not long after, he became so much the favorite and intimate companion of Francis Bacon, that we can hardly doubt that he was then, as he certainly was afterwards, an inmate of Bacon's Chambers in Gray's Inn. Bacon's letters show, that Matthew had witnessed, if not aided, the progress of some of Bacon's works in various stages, up to the last touch. When the latter afterwards sent him a copy of his "Advancement of Learning," he said, "I have now taught that child to go, at the swaddling whereof you were —" adding, "I thought it a small adventure to send you a copy, who have more right to it than any man, except Bishop Andrews, who was my inquisitor." (Athen. Oxon. *ut supra*, X.; Bacon's Works, 156, London ed. 1815.)

When James I., in 1603, was on his way to London to take possession of the English throne, Bacon, knowing that Matthew's father, then Bishop of Durham, was to preach a congratulatory sermon before the king at Berwick, where the royal *cortège* would pass the sabbath, and being anxious to remind the king of the useful services rendered him in his days of royal penury and disquietude as to his succession to the throne of England, by his elder brother, Anthony Bacon, and himself, sent Matthew with a letter to the king, and another to his learned friend, Sir Thomas Chaloner, at that time preceptor, and, soon after, superintendent of the education, and governor of the household, of Prince Henry. In the letter to Chaloner was enclosed a copy of that addressed to the king, with a request that he would deliver the original into the king's hands, and show his young friend, eldest son of the bishop, such courtesies as occasion might require; assuring him that they would be rendered to a very worthy young gentleman, whose acquaintance he would much esteem. (Bacon, *ut supra*, pp. 81-83.)

In the summer of 1604, Matthew obtained a license to travel three years; but he did not avail himself of it before the spring of the following year; and then, disregarding his father's solemn injunctions, went to Italy, where, to the great sorrow and mortification of his father and all his family and friends, he became a convert to the Romish faith. After his return to England, in 1606, his friend Bacon (then Sir Francis) told him that he himself had no doubt

both increased her old, and sprange fresh leakes, and heerein alsoe her forebeame, to which her boltspritt was fastened, cracked cleane in sunder, and some of her timbers

that "he was miserably abused when he was first seduced;" and Matthew's own account seems to favor Bacon's view of the case. He ascribes his conversion to the impression made on him by the devout behavior of the rustics in the Catholic churches abroad; to his witnessing at Naples the liquefaction—which he believed to be a real miracle—of the blood of St. Januarius; and, finally, to the English Jesuit Father Parsons, who gave him to read William Reynolds's book, called, "A Refutation of Doctor Whitaker's answer to Sanders's Annotations on the New Testament," &c.; of which the only merit mentioned by Matthew is, that it is a masterpiece of wit and humor.

On his arrival in London, his friend Bacon, by his desire, informed the Secretary of State Cecil, now Lord Salisbury, of his conversion; and, at the same time, that his loyalty to the king was unshaken. Upon this assurance, the Secretary at once complied with his cousin Bacon's request, that his friend should be allowed to remain undisturbed. Matthew, emboldened by the favor of Lord Salisbury, next presented himself before Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to induce him to overlook his conversion, and to prevail on his friends to do the same. He was courteously received by the Primate, but blamed for precipitately renouncing his old faith without duly examining the arguments on both sides. In the hope of convincing him of his error, Bancroft had several friendly conferences with him at Lambeth. At length, however, finding him irreclaimable, the oath of allegiance, by the king's order, was tendered him. Matthew, refusing to take it, was sent to the Fleet prison. At the end of six months, the plague being in London, he was released for a time, at the instance of his friend, Sir Francis Bacon, and allowed to reside with him at Gorhambury. In February, 1608, however, he was called before the Privy Council, where Lord Salisbury, after some "schooling," told him that he was privy to his imprisonment, but never approved of it, because he presumed so light a punishment would probably make him more proud and perverse. He then ordered him to depart the realm at the end of five weeks, which should be allowed him for arranging his affairs; and to name some good and loyal friend, in whose custody he should, in the mean time, remain. He named a Mr. Jones, who accepted the office, and was proud of his prisoner. (Cabala, Ed. 1654, p. 58; Chalmers's Biog. Dict., art. Matthew; I. Birch, James, p. 72.)

During his exile, he visited every Catholic country in Europe. In France, he made the acquaintance of Buckingham, then an untitled youth, who was there for the purpose of obtaining an accomplished and courtly education; and who afterwards, when he succeeded Somerset as the king's favorite, rendered Matthew a great many friendly and important services. Matthew kept up an intercourse with all his countrymen abroad, especially with those of the higher classes, and with the resident ambassadors, most of whom he had known at home. In January, 1610, he was at Alcala, six leagues from Madrid, where the celebrated English traveller, Robert Shirley, was then awaiting a royal intimation that he would be received at court, as ambassador of Shah Abbas, the Sophi of Persia. Shirley was a Catholic; and Matthew found means to attach himself, as a gentleman and civilian, to the suite of his diplomatic brother Catholic. He thus gained free access to the court, and a ready admission into the highest society of Madrid. Here he met the young Lord Roos, who had been some months in the city, and made the acquaintance of Sarmiento (afterward Conde de Gondomar), whose influence on the mind and career of Lord Roos, at a later period, added so much to the sorrows of the families of the young lord's grandfather, the Earl of Exeter, and father, Lord Burleigh. To a Jesuit of such ardor in the work of proselytism as Matthew, the conversion of Lord Roos, a person high in rank, with powerful connections, and the fairest promise of future distinction and influence, and, moreover, the cousin and correspondent of the actual Premier of England, must have presented very strong attractions. If he should accomplish it, he would be rewarded with the applause and favor of the head of the Catholic Church, as well as of his own order, and gain for himself a friend and advocate of com-

also in hold, we found defective. Wherefore I called a consultation of my chief officers of both my ships, wherein, after many debates, it was resolv'd that, for di-

manding influence in England. Lord Roos's purpose was to stay in Madrid only long enough to learn the Spanish language. Matthew professed to have the same intention, and to fix the same limit for his stay. But Matthew did not lose sight of his main purpose, nor, probably, of Lord Salisbury's relative and correspondent. Proselytism and espionage were sacred duties of his order. In the spring of 1611, they were together at Brussels. Matthew, on the 13th of April, wrote to Lord Salisbury, to obtain permission to return home; and Lord Roos, on the 4th of May, wrote to inform his Lordship of honors paid him by the Archduke and Infanta, accorded, as he supposed, because of his relationship to himself, and that he hoped to be in England in a month. If he did then return home, it was in part to support Matthew's petition to be recalled. The next year, however, — in July, — he was at Frankfurt, on his way to Italy; and early in the following month, he and Matthew, as if by concert, though coming by different routes, simultaneously made their appearance at Florence, — Lord Roos giving out that he was going to Rome, and Matthew that he and his companion, George Gage, an English brother Jesuit, were bound for Naples, which, of course, would take them through Rome. John Mole, the tutor of Lord Roos, a highly respectable and learned man, who had been in public office in England, had been, for five years, a prisoner in the Inquisition at Rome, and great intercession had been made for his release by King James and his allies, but without effect. His offence was that he had lent King James's treatise on "Free Monarchies" to a Florentine acquaintance, whose confessor, becoming cognizant of the fact, reported it to the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome. Mole, soon after accompanying Lord Roos to Rome, was seized and imprisoned. Dr. Birch, in the additional notes to his court and times of James, corrects the statement made in page 251 of his *Negotiations*, that Mole had been exchanged for Father Baldwin, the Jesuit implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, and says that he died in the Inquisition, after about thirty years' confinement; and also that he had previously been treasurer, under Sir Thomas Shirley, to the English army in Bretagne, and examiner to the council of the North. Sir Thomas was the brother of Sir Robert Shirley, mentioned above. The reversion of the office of examiner (of witnesses) was granted, in 1616, to Henry Mole. Whether Lord Roos, knowing the anxious desire of his grandfather, made any efforts for the release of Mole, and whether he was aided or prevented by Matthew, we know not. Sir Henry Wotton, in his second mission to Venice, wrote to Buckingham that Roos was not without blame. Matthew probably knew too well the inflexible temper of Paul V., and his personal and political enmity to King James, to risk the loss of his holiness's favor by imploring his mercy for an English heretic. Sir Henry Wotton was, at this time, endeavoring to effect an exchange of Mole for Baldwin, and, the year before, had urged Lord Salisbury to procure the king's authority for taking steps in Mole's behalf. But the king refused, thinking the attempt useless, and the proposed agent, Fitzherbert, afterwards head of the Jesuits' College, at Rome, likely to do more harm than good. To all appeals for the release of Mole, the Pope replied, that he should be well treated, and efforts should be made for his conversion. That these efforts were consistent with good treatment, or common humanity, there was every reason to doubt; yet, in the year 1619, King James, at the request of Gondomar, released the traitor, Baldwin, and heartlessly left his faithful subject, Mole, to perish in the dungeons of a cruel enemy. (I. Birch, *James*, pp. 196, 474; *Cabala*, p. 365; *Dom. St. Papers*, 1617, pp. 24, 28, 60, 65, 137, 153.)

One of the returns subsequently made by Baldwin, for the mercy shown him in his own liberation, was to exert, to the utmost, all his power and authority, as Rector of the College of St. Omers, to prolong for life, the cruel imprisonment of a young fellow-countryman, who had been led to separate himself from the Jesuits by witnessing their evil practices. This prisoner was James Wadsworth, son of James Wadsworth, B.D., of Emanuel College, Cambridge, chaplain of King James's first embassy at Madrid, and joint commissioner with the ambassador, Sir Charles Cornwallis. The chaplain had two livings in Suffolk, and was

vers reasons, it would be very necessary for us to putt into Virginia, there to repaire o^r shipps, stopp o^r leakes, refresh o^r men, sett up o^r shallopps, which we might there

promised by King James the first eminent preferment that should fall vacant, as a reward for the great learning and ability displayed by him in debate with the English Jesuits, Creswell and Walpole, at Madrid, whom he triumphantly refuted, and put to silence. But some time after, being made the dupe of a Jesuitical artifice, — a pretended miracle, in which a cross became vocal, as in St. Dunstan's time, — he became, as his son expresses it, "a proselyte to their juggling religion." He was pensioned by the king, Philip III., and, at a later period, employed as English tutor to the Infanta, up to the time of his death, in November, 1623. (Wadsworth's Eng.-Span. Pilgrim. p. 2; I. Turner's Anglo Saxons, p. 485.)

During the time Lord Hayes — afterwards Earl of Carlisle — remained in Madrid, James Wadsworth was his interpreter. After the death of his father, being thoroughly disgusted with the Jesuits, he kept more aloof from their society; and was, in turn, treated by them as an outcast, and a fit subject for persecution. Having at last determined to return for good to England, and there to declare himself a Protestant, he quitted Paris, in 1627; and, on his way to Calais, was robbed, and nearly drowned by some French soldiers, who had just heard of Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé. Arriving at Calais, the captain of an English bark, on the point of sailing for Dover, in compassion for his destitute condition, generously offered him money, and a free passage. But when on board, he was recognized by Matthew's friend, George Gage, who had been the school-fellow of Wadsworth at St. Omer's; had been ordained to the priesthood with Matthew, at Rome, in May, 1614, by Cardinal Bellarmine, and was then going, with other Jesuits and Catholics, in disguise, to England. The bark was stopped; and the captain of the port, being told that Wadsworth was a spy of Buckingham, of course had him arrested, and sent to prison. For the first three days, he was left to himself, without food or drink, in a loathsome, filthy prison, in sight of the rack, which, he was assured, would be used upon him, unless he confessed himself guilty of the charge, falsely laid against him. At the end of the three days, he had a dish of tripe, with some bread and water, given him; but thenceforward, *was allowed no victuals*, except what he paid for from the scanty alms obtained from passengers in the street, by means of a purse with a long cord, which they gave him to put out at a hole. He was never permitted to leave his cell for an instant; it was never cleansed; and the mass of noisome and poisonous filth in it was constantly accumulating. His bed was straw, changed only thrice in ten months, without any covering at all; he had no change of linen or clothing; his hair grew wild and savage-like; and his companions were millions of vermin of all sorts. "In this woeful plight," he says, "I continued well nigh ten months; the aforesaid Gage, with his companions, being the cause thereof; and to augment my misery, Father Baldwin, with the rest of the English Jesuits in St. Omer's not only sent, but came to Calais, to persuade the Governor for my continual restraint from liberty, while my vital spirits should continue within me." The President of the College of Douay, and the Jesuits in England, wrote to the Governor of Calais, in the same inhuman spirit; and the English Jesuits, to make his detention more sure, made one Hudson, an Englishman, living in the place, their chief agent against him. They all aimed at his life; and, to accomplish their murderous purpose, would have had him hung for a horse-thief, if the truth had not been seasonably discovered by an advocate-general of the French king, named Carpenter, who happened to be, at the time, in the same prison. By the laws of France, no offender could be kept in prison beyond three months, without trial; but Wadsworth's "infernal monsters and blood-suckers, the Jesuits, and their faction," as he styles them, baffled, for eight months, all the efforts made in his behalf by Lord Mountjoy, by Walter Montague, by the youngest son of the king of Denmark, and other acquaintances of his, until, by the address and perseverance of a noble-hearted young gentleman of Friesland, named Scipio Intima, who had been a fellow-prisoner with him, in Paris the governor of Calais was prevailed on to allow him a fair trial. His case was so well managed by his

more securely and more speedily doe, then elsewhere, in regard there we should find both worke men and materialls for our purpose ready made, which otherwise we must

friend, the advocate-general, before the High Court of Parliament, at Paris, that he was set at liberty, and all his Calais adversaries "condemned to the reparation of honor, damage, and interest." The credibility of Wadsworth's statements was not questioned by any one in his day, and cannot, therefore, now be fairly questioned. The learned and reverend Joseph Mead, who was personally acquainted with him, sent his book to Sir Martin Stuteville, and recommended him to read it, as he would see in it strange passages of a young man's miseries. (Eng.-Span. Pilgrim., London, 1629; Birch, Charles, p. 43; II. Kennet, p. 729; Oliver's Eng. Jesuits, p. 140.)

Wadsworth was, in no way, connected with Buckingham; but was, most probably, employed by Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Buckingham was a bitter enemy. His mission had more of a religious than the political character which Gage strove to give it. Had he taken Wadsworth's life for abandoning the schools of the Jesuits, he would have found ample justification in the principles of that sect, which, at that day, set aside the commandment of God, and permitted homicide for a blow or offensive language. When Garnet, as their head in England, was asked by some of the more scrupulous of the Powder-plot conspirators, "whether, for the sake of promoting the Catholic religion, it might be permitted, should necessity so require, to involve the innocent in the same destruction as the guilty," he replied, without hesitating, that "if the guilty should constitute the greater number, it might." (Pascal Lett. 13th and 14th; Hume, Chap. 46; Chalmers's Biog. Dict. art. Garnet; Dom. St. Papers, A. D. 1628, Vol. 126; Townsend Accusations Ch. of Rome, p. 257.)

George Gage, the creator and auxiliary of the persecution of Wadsworth, was the brother of Thomas Gage, author of "The New Survey of the West Indies," who narrowly escaped similar barbarous treatment at the hands of the Catholics, whose faith he had renounced. His account of the lax and pliable morality of the Jesuits accords with that of Wadsworth. Aggrandizement in wealth and power was the fixed and primary object of the Society; and no right or interest of private individuals, or even of any Catholic order or community, was suffered to stand in the way of its attainment. The end sanctified the means. If the liberation of Mole were likely to impede the conversion of Lord Roos, neither Matthew, nor his "dear friend, sworn brother, *fidus Achates*," as Chamberlain calls George Gage, would have lifted a finger to open his prison doors. (Gage, W. Ind. pp. 4, 5, 8, 205, 206, 211, 212; I. Birch, James, 195; II. Id. 219, 333, 347.)

Great exertions were made, in 1616, by the family and friends of Matthew, to procure his recall. Buckingham, seconding the appeal of Matthew's mother to the royal clemency in behalf of her son, so far overcame the king's strong aversion to Jesuits, that Matthew was early, the next year, permitted to return, subject to some restraint, for the administration of which, it appears, his friend, the Lord Chancellor, was to be responsible. He arrived in London, after an exile of more than nine years, early in July, and waited on the Secretary of State, Sir Ralph Winwood. He was received by Sir Ralph with the kindness and welcome of an old friend; but every assurance of special protection was withheld, unless Matthew should first agree to take the oath of allegiance. The Secretary earnestly used both argument and entreaty to persuade him to do so, but without avail. Matthew, presuming upon the great favor in which his great friend, the Lord Chancellor, stood with the king, refused the oath, although he was warned, at the time, that the king would, in consequence, "not long endure him here." (Carleton Letters, pp. 156, 165; I. Birch, James, pp. 195, 456; II. Idem, pp. 10, 12.)

The Lord Chancellor, as his custodian, took him, a few days after, to his paternal mansion, Gorbambury, near St. Albans, where he was treated with such extraordinary favor and respect that it was by most thought wrong that a person in "his place should give such countenance to one so affected." Matthew's conduct at the same time began to be a subject of common censure. He was thought to have "shown himself too soon upon the exchange."

either want or spend time to make ourselves. And that we resolved was the speediest way for us to proceed with.

He grew "very gay, or, rather, gaudy, in his attire," injudiciously and unsuitably for his years; and "what was still worse, took certain night-walks to the Spanish Ambassador's." These stealthy visits were sure to provoke public indignation; for Gondomar was, at that period, an object of general suspicion and hatred. Within a month after Matthew's return, Lord Roos secretly left England, on account, as he wrote to Secretary Winwood, of the diabolical proceedings of his mother-in-law, Lady Lake. All his valuables, that could not, on a sudden, be taken with him, he left in the hands of Gondomar, who gave him letters to the Pope, that insured him an honorable reception, and, for a time, great privacy in the papal mansion. The Earl of Exeter, son and heir of the celebrated Lord Burleigh, complained bitterly that Gondomar had broken his promise to procure the liberation of Mole; and now, to his still greater injury, had seduced his grandson Roos from him, and sent him to Rome, with such recommendations to the Pope, that he was in danger of being utterly bereft of him. Gondomar left England on the 16th of June, and news came shortly after that Lord Roos died on the 27th near Naples. On the eve of Gondomar's departure, he had proof of the disfavor in which his nation was held by the English people. One of his suite, having ridden over a boy in the streets of London, four or five thousand people pursued him to the ambassador's house, which they would have destroyed to bring him to summary punishment, if they had not been persuaded to desist by Chief-Justice Montague, the Lord Mayor, and aldermen, upon the promise that the offender should be legally tried. The promise was not kept. The king, on the other hand, required Buckingham to express his regret and excuses to Gondomar, ordered the Lord Mayor to ask his pardon, and had half a dozen of the rioters sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and fines of £500 each. Gondomar's successor thought it expedient and right to interpose in their behalf, and obtained their pardon. (I. Birch, James, p. 450; Id. II. pp. 25, 27, 28, 40, 76, 83; Dom. St. Papers, vol. xeviii. § 17, 77; vol. cv. § 88; vol. clxxxvii. § 59; Gardiner-Spanish Marriage, p. 135.)

Matthew, meanwhile, in fancied security under the protection of his friend, the Lord-Chancellor, zealously devoted himself to the work of proselytism, especially among females, high in rank, wealth, or influence. His success was naturally followed by the resentment, and loud and bitter complaints, of the great and powerful families. Among his converts were the Countess of Exeter, and the Countess of Buckingham, mother of the great favorite. The legal proceedings between the Earl of Exeter's family and that of Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State, and brother of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, brought to light circumstances, such as the conversion of the whole family, which gave new life and vigor to King James's jealousy, and dread of Jesuits and all other papists. In charging the judges, before sentence, he exhorted them to have a special care of the papists, and likewise, of their own wives, whom he called the nourishers of papistry in England. He had also been previously told, that in Louvain, where Matthew had frequently resided, the good success of Sir Thomas Lake's cause was publicly prayed for by the papists. These circumstances, together with his refusal of the oath of allegiance, determined the king, on the 17th of December, 1618, to banish Matthew a second time from the realm. (I. Birch, James, p. 454; Id. pp. 114, 135, 136; III. Bushworth, p. 1278; I. Clarendon, p. 148.)

At first, hopes were entertained by his ardent friend, the Lord Chancellor, and, of course, by Matthew, that his exile would be brief. His chambers were kept by his lordship in constant readiness for his return. But the Lord Chancellor had made many new and powerful enemies by a speech in Parliament, in which he exalted the king's prerogative as the perfection of law, a doctrine which was conceived to be intended to prepare the way for raising subsidies without Parliament. Petitions and complaints against him were encouraged and sent to the House of Commons in vast numbers. Impeachment, fine, imprisonment, and dismissal from office, soon following, completed the downfall of Lord St. Albans, and deprived Matthew of his devoted and most influential friend at court. For this great

From this tyme our leake increased upon us dayly more and more, in so much as we were now at the pumps three or four times in a watch, striking near a 1000 stroakes

loss, it was some compensation, that his attached friend and brother Jesuit, George Gage was allowed to return home, and was received with much favor. Within a year after, he was mentioned as one of the many candidates for the office of Secretary of State, then in abeyance by the suspension of Naunton, and again, as reserved for a similar place about the Infanta. Matthew while abroad, was, as usual, active in the cause of his order. The house of the third probation, at Ghent, where he passed the last fifteen years of life, and was entombed in 1655, owed its establishment to him. In 1620 the Countess of Arundel, the widow of Philip, Earl of Arundel, who, in 1595, died in the Tower of London, contributed generously to its formation, probably at the instance of Matthew, who gave, also, 11,000 Roman scudi, equivalent nearly to as many dollars, for the maintenance of masters and instructors, and of students preparing for holy orders and the mission. (II. Birch, James, pp. 143, 222; Dom. St. Papers, 1620; vol. cxv. § 63; vol. cxvii. § 13; Chalmers's Biog. Dict., art. Bacon; Oliver's Eng. Jesuits, p. 140.)

Matthew had passed three years in exile, when, on the 29th of December, 1621, he presented himself to the Commissioners of Passage at Dover, and, exhibiting letters from Lord Digby for his return to England, was permitted to proceed to London and take up his abode with his fallen friend, Lord St. Albans, at Bedford House. He owed his recall mainly to Gondomar, who, having gained Buckingham's confidence, with his help, guided the king's will at pleasure; and in all measures that concerned the interests of Spain, or of the Catholic religion, led him blindfold into engagements and acts that impaired his resources at home, defeated his own purposes, and deprived him of the aid and affection of his subjects, and the confidence and support of his Protestant friends and allies on the Continent. By flattering the king's lofty notions of regal power, and his infatuated hopes of the Spanish marriage and a splendid dowry, Gondomar induced him to treat the House of Commons as if they had no rights, except what were held by sufferance from himself; to turn a deaf ear to their remonstrances and petitions; to tear their protestation from the journal; and, finally, to imprison, and in other ways punish, the patriotic members who had ventured to speak in defence of their legitimate rights and privileges. He arrogantly wrote to James, that if he had not depended upon the king's goodness to punish the seditious insolence of the House, he should have already left the kingdom. "This," added he, "it would have been my duty to do, as you would have ceased to be a king here, and as I have no army to punish these people myself." King James, instead of treating this and many similar instances of this wily diplomatist's effrontery, as an offence to his dignity, was, on the contrary, careful to show him, on all occasions, more respect than had ever been paid to other ambassadors. He gave him, invariably, the first place of honor next himself at masques and festivals; allowed him to occupy the royal residences at Hampton Court and Nonsuch; required salutes of honor to be punctiliously paid him, on entering or leaving port; at his coming, furnished anew Ely House for his residence in London; and, on his departure, ordered out two ships of the royal navy for his conveyance to Spain. To gratify Gondomar's freaks of humor, at an audience given him in the gallery of Whitehall, the king caused pieces to be cut out of pictures that were not flattering to Spanish pride. One clergyman was imprisoned for many months for painting pictures caricaturing the Armada of 1588, and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605; and another experienced the same tyrannical treatment for having preached against the Spanish match and the cruelties of the Spaniards. When Gondomar was derisively shouted after in the streets of London by an apprentice lad, and an affray was brought on, as much by the Spaniards as by others, the king, at the instigation of Gondomar, caused the offending boys to be whipped through the streets, so "soundly," as he had ordered, that one of them died under the lash. A few days after, he issued a proclamation, and made the Lord Mayor issue another, by which affronts by gesture, words, or action to ambassadors, were prohibited. In opposition to the entreaties of the House of

every watch, and sometimes more. But God be thanked, the last of June, at night, our dead reckonings being now all of us out, I recommended my master to give order to

Commons, the known wishes of his Protestant subjects, and the true policy of England at the time, — after the Palatinate had been wrested by the Spanish forces under Spinola from his son-in-law, — James persisted in allowing Gondomar to export ordnance and ammunition, and to raise in his dominions eight thousand troops to fight his own allies, the Dutch, and his subjects, their auxiliaries. He also, without the slightest concern or interference, suffered Gondomar to collect and provide for permanent supplies of money from his Catholic subjects, for the purpose of vanquishing his son-in-law, and of destroying the last vestige of influence which James might be supposed to have with the Protestants in Germany. (Dom. St. Papers, vol. cxlii. § 86; vol. cxvi. § 61; vol. cxvii. § 71; vol. cxix. §§ 90, 99; vol. cxx. §§ 13, 41; vol. cxxiv. § 82; II. Gardner, Prince Charles, pp. 11, 136, 152-54; II. Kennett, p. 753; I. Parliament Hist. p. 1362.)

One secret cause of James's tame subserviency to all the exactions of Gondomar, was, that in 1620 he had been inveigled by Buckingham and Gondomar into a plot for partitioning the territory of his Dutch allies between himself and the king of Spain. The Archduke Albert, however, disapproving of the project, it was dropped. But Gondomar held it as a rod over the head of James, who consequently yielded to his demands, on nearly all occasions, from fear of a disclosure that would inflict on him a lasting disgrace, and deprive him of all hope of future concert and support from his only ally. By playing upon James's hopes of the Spanish marriage, and representing it as attainable only by the largest concessions to the English Catholics, he had already procured the liberation of Catholics who had been imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance; and, soon after, two or three hundred Jesuits made their appearance in the streets of London, some of them wearing the habits of their order. Gondomar was about to return to Spain; and, as Matthew would be better able than any other to carry into effect his plans, at least in all that was desired for the promotion of the Catholic cause in England, he interceded with the king for his recall from exile. Matthew, consequently, was permitted to return, and arrived in England 29th December, 1621.

Both were earnestly desirous to bring about the Spanish match, as the means most likely to effect their grand purpose. Gondomar, in the hope of increasing Matthew's influence and efficiency, sought to give him social distinction, and to secure for him the favor of the king. He invited himself to dine with the king's cousin-german, the Duke of Lenox, and the Duchess, and named Matthew as one of the guests. Soon after, so much had Matthew advanced in the royal favor, that the king sent him to his father, the Archbishop of York, with a recommendation that, as he had discountenanced his son for having incurred "the king's displeasure, he would now receive him to favor upon his reconciling to his Majesty." Matthew was accordingly forgiven, and well treated by his parents. Their gentle and affectionate endeavors to restore him to their own faith, were, however, entirely without effect. His old friend, George Gage, who had, early in 1621, been employed at Rome to watch the negotiation for the Pope's dispensation, having returned with it in an objectionable shape, was now deputed as the king's special and confidential agent, with the king's letter to the Pope, Gregory the 15th, accrediting him as such, for the purpose of persuading his holiness to agree to certain changes in the conditions of the dispensation. To canvass thoroughly the subject of this negotiation, so vitally important to the Catholics of England, Matthew accompanied his friend to Dover, the port of embarkation. In the following year, Matthew himself was sent to the prince, at Madrid. His friend, Lord St. Albans, sent by him a letter, in which he was warmly recommended to Buckingham, as peculiarly fitted, by his wisdom and knowledge of the world, to serve the king and the prince in the pending affair of the marriage. The marriage, it is well known, as was from the beginning intended, came to naught. The main purpose of sending Matthew to Madrid, was to convince the Spanish government that if the conditions prescribed by the junta of

heave out his lead about ten of the clocke at night, and he did soe and found ground at 15 fathome, but this night in regard it was darke, and the winds tacking about to

theologians were insisted on, both the king and the Catholics would be placed in the hands of Parliament, and the Catholic cause in England be entirely sacrificed. It was thought that, as the son of a high dignitary of the English Protestant Church, whose favor he had lost by embracing the Catholic faith, his representations would have greater weight with the Spanish court than those of any other person. He accordingly addressed a letter to the king himself, showing the impolicy, so far as the Catholics of England were concerned, of persisting in the course prescribed by the theologians. But it was totally without effect; and, soon after, he returned to England in the same ship with the prince and his suite. The prince hastened to Royston, where his father then was, and there the honor of knighthood was conferred on Matthew, which probably he had been assured of, when he ventured, in his letter to the king of Spain, to assume the somewhat ambiguous title of Caballero, in order to propitiate the lofty pride of the Spanish monarch. (I. Gardiner, *Prince Charles*, p. 334; *Dom. St. Papers*, vol. cxxiv. §§ 2, 4, 60, 130; vol. cxxxiii. §§ 24, 31, 60; *Cabala*, p. 303; *X. Bacon's Works*, p. 144; II. Birch, *James*, pp. 333, 347, 414, 425.)

In 1625, Matthew accompanied Buckingham when sent to France to conduct the Queen Henrietta to England. By the request of Buckingham's mother, the Countess of Buckingham, he officiated as interpreter to the Queen. He also wrote to the Duchess of Buckingham, giving a description of the person and manner of the queen, and of the incidents of the journey. He now stood in high favor at court. But in his prosperity he showed the truest sympathy with all the sorrow of his earliest patron and fast friend, the unfortunate Lord St. Albans. This was always gratefully acknowledged, and repaid as far as possible, by the latter. In one of his letters to Matthew, he says, "your incessant thinking of me, without loss of a moment of time, or a hint of occasion, or a circumstance of endeavor, or the stroke of a pulse, in demonstration of your affection to me, infinitely ties me to you." (I. Clarendon, p. 38; *Cabala*, p. 302; *X. Bacon's Works*, p. 121.)

By the death of Lord St. Albans, in April, 1626, Matthew was bereft of a sincere and devoted, but no longer influential, friend. Two years later, the dagger of Felton deprived him of another equally warm, but much more powerful, friend, the Duke of Buckingham. Beside the painful sense of his own personal loss, he, in common with the brethren of his order, felt this untoward event as one of the greatest calamities that could have befallen the society of Jesuits. Aid and favor had previously often been obtained for them through Matthew, as their ordinary intermediary, by his direct application to Buckingham; but now, to all appearance, little or none could be hoped for, since it must be sought by solicitations in various quarters, and required the concurrence of many minds, likely to be affected, more or less, by the anti-Catholic hostility of the public. (I. Birch, *Charles*, p. 409.)

The exigency, however, did not prove so disastrous as was feared at first. Matthew himself was enabled to prosecute his religious schemes with greater facility, by some addition to his moderate but well-husbanded means, which came to him from the family property on the death of his mother, in May, 1629, fourteen months after that of his father, the Archbishop of York. But the turn given to public affairs favored him still further. Charles, indignant at the outburst of joy with which the people received the news of Buckingham's death, gradually abandoned the policy which, in the hope of reconciling the approaching parliament to his measures, he had recently pursued, in forbidding the clergy to preach up passive obedience; in causing, also, the gentlemen who had refused to contribute to the late loan, to be released from confinement; and the Catholics to be treated with more severity. He now, on the contrary, assumed a lenity towards the latter, which, while it angered their adversaries, freed them from all fear of persecution. At the same time he bestowed his favors upon those only who had been friends of Buckingham, or were known to be obnoxious to the popular leaders of the House of Commons. To the latter,

the North west, we were enforced to lie off to sea; and the third of July, towards sunsett, we arrived between the Capes, which are called Cape Charles and Cape Henry;

however, nothing could be more unwelcome than his promotion, in 1628, of Richard Montague to the Bishopric of Chichester, and of Laud to that of London. Both had been censured by the House of Commons for their Armenianism, and moderation toward the Catholics; and both maintained in the pulpit, the arbitrary power of the king, and the passive obedience of the subject. With Laud, who was, on many points, half a papist, Matthew, nearly up to the end of that prelate's political career, kept up an intercourse of the most intimate and familiar character. His zeal for the advancement of Catholic interests in England, insured him, also, the favor of the queen. Her enthusiasm equalled his own; and, when Buckingham was no more, she, having gained the entire confidence of the king, and sharing more freely in the direction of public affairs, was better able to second his views, and to procure for the Catholics, as she did, indulgences which made them presumptuous, and the nation dissatisfied. When Buckingham was living, the Lord Treasurer, Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, and the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Carlisle, stood next to him in the affections and confidence of the king, and these continued to enjoy the same degree of favor. With both of them, Matthew was on the most cordial and friendly footing; staying for days in the treasurer's house at Roehampton, and always a welcome guest at the luxurious table of the Lord-Chamberlain. He was the panegyrist of the Countess of Carlisle, and one of her most devoted admirers. In the "Collection of Letters," published after his death, he has given an exalted character of her, which Fenton afterwards inserted in his notes on Waller. Having, from the time of Charles's return from Spain, free access to him and to his household, Matthew formed a friendship with Sir Henry Vane, Senior, an old domestic favorite, who held the place of cofferer—now called master—of the household of Charles, both before and after he came to the throne. The king gave Vane many proofs of his regard. He sent him to the States-General in 1625, to announce the death of his royal father; made him privy counsellor on his return; resident ambassador at the Hague in 1629; ambassador-extraordinary at the courts of the kings of Denmark and Sweden in 1631; Treasurer of the Household in 1639; and Secretary of State in the year following. Whenever Vane was abroad, Matthew corresponded with him, and kept him duly advised of all court movements, intrigues for his place, and events of special interest. One of his letters is dated from Vane's own lodgings at Court; and, in another, of 1632, he mentions the great improvement of his son, Henry Vane (four years later governor of Massachusetts), who had recently returned from his travels, and says that "his French is good, his discourse discreet, and his fashion comely and fair." The intercourse between Matthew and Vane was probably kept up daily, until the latter, by his testimony, which brought his old enemy, Lord Strafford, to the block, lost the favor of the king, and was deprived of all office. Matthew's friend, Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, became Secretary of State in December, 1628; and up to the day of his death, on the 15th of February, 1632, cheerfully gave him the full benefit of his official power, and personal influence. He was also so highly valued by Vane's enemy, Lord Strafford, that he took him to Ireland with him, for his counsel and advice.

With such abundant protection, Matthew felt secure in exerting all his powers in the work of conversion. He had found, on his return from his second banishment, that, in the interval of his absence, one of his distinguished converts, the Countess of Buckingham, had abjured the Romish faith, and a few days later, in January, received the sacrament of the holy supper, at the hands of Laud, in Saint Paul's Chapel. In the following June, she received it a second time, in the King's Chapel. But it must be added that she was said to have received £2000 for it. In each instance she was accompanied by her son, the Marquis of Buckingham, and the Marchioness, who, on her marriage, had come over from the Papal to the English Church. But, in September following, Chamberlain wrote to Carleton, that the Countess had relapsed, and openly avowed her reconciliation to the Catholic Church. This cost her only a temporary loss of favor at court. (II. Birch, James, pp. 282,

about one of the clocke we came to anchor, the tide being spent, within three miles of Point Comfort, which is some seven leagues from the Capes and it lieth upon the mouth

316, 333; II. Id. Charles, p. 167. Dom. St. Papers, vol. cxxxi. § 53; vol. cxxxiii. § 24; II. Wood's Athen. Oxf. p. 402.)

Clarendon says, "the papists attempted, and sometimes obtained proselytes, of weak, uninformed ladies, with such circumstances as provoked the rage and destroyed the charity of great and powerful families, which longed for their suppression." Of the circumstances here alluded to, the most provoking were the heavy contributions obtained from wealthy converts, to the disappointment and detriment of family and other expectants. Thirty thousand pounds were got from one English countess for the Jesuits' College at Liege; and eight thousand as a beginning, from the Countess of Shrewsbury, for that at Ghent. In these and various kindred measures for raising the order of St. Ignatius in wealth and power above its rivals, the monastic orders, Matthew was incessantly and indefatigably occupied up to the time when the Parliament of 1640 stripped Charles of his kingly authority. His second exile had taught him the danger of drawing public attention to his works of proselytism. But, notwithstanding all his precautions, in 1637 the conversion of Lady Newport, brought him, it was said, into some peril. This is the only instance we have found mentioned in contemporary accounts. But that his services in this and other spheres of action, though less noticed, were as numerous and important as ever to the Church of Rome, is warmly acknowledged in the letter addressed to him by Urban VIII. The Pontiff says, "your ardent zeal for the *salvation of souls*, by which, for so many years, you have approved yourself a diligent, faithful workman in the Lord's vineyard, deserves its due praise and grateful remembrance from us; the account of the troubles you have gone through for the *enlargement of the Holy See*, and that charitable zeal whereby you have become *all things to all men, that you might gain some*, we have heard with a great deal of rejoicing. Go on, therefore, my beloved son; enkindle the Catholics with a divine zeal, and comfort them all, but especially those Amazons (the English translator superadds "*viragos*") who, day and night, champion-like, fight for the glory of our See." The crowning proof that Matthew had gained the high respect and entire confidence of Urban, is the unlimited control given him by the same letter, over the acts of the nuncio, Count Rosetti. He is told that the nuncio has been commanded to communicate to him all instructions received from the Pope, and is emphatically charged and commanded, so far as needful, not only to direct, advise, and instruct the nuncio *in all things*, but also to correct his escapes and errors. When the creation of an English cardinal was under consideration at Rome, as a measure likely to hasten the conversion of England, Matthew's name stood high on the list of reputed candidates. If any appointment had been made, it is nearly certain that Urban would have conferred it on Matthew, unless he thought it would remove him from the sphere of great usefulness which he then occupied. Urban had been educated at a Jesuit school, and all Jesuits, especially in England, would have urged the appointment of one of their own order. (I. Clarendon's Reb. p. 148; Dom. St. Papers, p. 570, vol. cccclxxii. § 65; II. Rushw. 2d part, p. 1324; Gage's West Indies, p. 209; Chalmers's Biog. Dict., art. Urban.)

After the Vatican, for many years, had withstood the entreaties of the English Benedictines and secular clergy for a bishop, at length Urban, about five months after the death of James, created Richard Smith, an Englishman, Bishop of Chalcedon, and sent him to England with episcopal power to ordain priests, give confirmation, and to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the English Catholics, as their metropolitan and ordinary. The next year the Pope addressed a letter to the English Catholics, in which, after citing the interdicts of Clement and Paul V., in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, as precedents for his guidance, he solemnly forbade them to take the oath of allegiance to Charles. The duty of enforcing obedience to this papal command devolved on Smith, to whom a letter was at the same time written by the Pope, to insure obedience to his decree. But the Jesuits and

of James River whereon standeth a new erected fort, which commands the river. All my men on my own ship are, God be prayed, in very good health, though my vice

regulars—who were ordained and governed by the superiors of their respective orders—felt it a grievance to be placed under the control of a Benedictine; and Buckingham's rash war with France, in 1627, gave them a plea and a favorable opportunity for striving to realize their wishes by the removal of Smith. As he had been educated at the Sorbonne, with his fellow-student and friend, Cardinal Richelieu, his opponents declaimed against the inconvenience and inconsistency of having in England a bishop, whose acts and writings were subject to the censure and control of the faculty of Paris, the capital of the enemy. A body of Catholic laymen also besought him to refrain from holding, as he proposed, a court of ordinary, which would subject him to a *premunire*, or a charge of treason, and plainly declared that, as no authority would have been given him for so doing if the inconvenience had been known, if he persisted in his purpose, they should not obey his commands. Matthew, with Father Blount, then Provincial of the Jesuits in England, and a nobleman, whose name is not fully given, perhaps Lord Viscount Montague, took part in the expostulations with the Bishop. Wishing to ascertain the full extent of the powers conferred on him by the Pope's brief, they requested, but were refused, a sight of that document. This refusal widened the separation between the parties, left the Jesuits free to act without incurring the guilt of actual disobedience to the head of the church, and thus, no doubt, hastened their liberation from the Bishop's control. The civil authorities were informed of his doings and the unlawful purpose of his mission. Legal proceedings were instituted against him; and, as he kept out of the way, proclamations were issued for his apprehension; in which, after recounting his ecclesiastical offences, he was charged with holding a seditious and treasonable correspondence with the king's enemies, all persons, on pain of punishment as felons, were forbidden to lodge or entertain him, and a reward of £100 was offered for his capture. He finally escaped to Paris, where he was cordially received and entertained by Cardinal Richelieu. (II. Rushworth, p. 15; V. Dodd's Ch. Hist. Appx.; Townsend's Accusations, Ch. Rome, pp. 314, 445; Gage's West Indies, p. 5; Dom. St. Papers, p. 55; vol. xcix. § 8; vol. cxxii. § 33; vol. cxxx. § 85; vol. cxxxiii. § 7; vol. cxxxix. § 42; I. Blackstone's Com. p. 480; IV. do. p. 87.)

Having thus freed themselves from the thralldom of a rival order, the Jesuits in England turned their attention to a more worldly project for gaining wealth, by obtaining a monopoly of the manufacture of soap. For this, it was proposed to pay in advance £10,000 into the exchequer; and, subsequently, £8 for each ton made. As it was estimated that five thousand, or more, if wanted, could annually be made, this would add to the king's revenue at least £40,000 a year. In the existing poverty of the exchequer, "this most odious and most grievous project," as Clarendon calls it, had not long to wait for an act of incorporation. Sir Richard Weston, the Lord Treasurer, was appointed the first president; and George Gage, one of the assistants and Matthew's attached friend, the treasurer of the company. The engagements of the crown with this legalized association, amounted to a guarantee for the safety of the English Jesuits. But another advantage gained, of great importance in the estimation of a person of Matthew's intelligence and ardent enterprise, was, that ample provision was secured for defraying the expense of new establishments and missions contemplated in foreign countries. His zealous and active imagination could hardly fail to have been stimulated by the flattering accounts of the wealth and power attained in the Jesuit missions of the Portuguese by the efforts of François Xavier, Menezes, &c., in Japan, the Philippines, Malabar, Goa, and elsewhere in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in the New World. Other circumstances gave a particular direction to his aims and exertions. (II. Rushworth, pp. 136, 143, 215; I. Clarendon's Reb. p. 148.)

His friend, Lord Baltimore, in the summer of 1627, had gone out to Newfoundland with Lady Baltimore and their children, to make their permanent residence at Ferryland, in his province of Avalon. But, after two years' trial of the place, he became dissatisfied, and

admirall hath bene shrewdly visited with a pestilential fever, whereof about 60 have bene sicke and twelve dead thereof, but they are now most of them recovered.

determined to seek an abode in some other part of the New World. Long accustomed to meet with the deference and respect usually paid to persons in high station, he must have been greatly annoyed by the bold intrusion and reckless conduct of the officers and crews of English fishing-vessels that came out for the season, who habitually committed wasteful depredations in the gardens, farms, and forests, destroyed the stages for drying fish, and choked the harbors with stone ballast. The neighboring waters, also, were infested with French cruisers, under De la Rade, who captured all the English vessels he could overhaul, and drove the rest from the fishing-grounds. Although Lord Baltimore gallantly attacked De la Rade, recaptured all the English vessels, with sixty-seven Frenchmen in them, and made prize of six or seven French vessels, yet he felt his position insecure, and besought the king and the Lord-High-Admiral, Buckingham, to send out, at least, two men-of-war to guard the coast, for the protection, not only of his own company, but of five thousand other British subjects. Two days before the date of his letters, Buckingham had fallen under the knife of Felton. This sad event filled him with sorrow for the loss of a sincere friend, and increased his despondency, as it left him much less hope of obtaining the naval protection asked for. All that was finally granted him, was a loan, for one year, of the *St. Claude*, one of his own prize vessels. At the same time, according to report, the French had a force of twenty sail, mainly destined for that region; while the number of English vessels fishing off Newfoundland, which, even in 1615, was two hundred and fifty, with five thousand seamen, was now reduced to forty. In 1626, Devonshire alone was said to have sent annually one hundred and fifty ships; and the total number of seamen sent from all parts of Great Britain to Newfoundland, amounted to eight thousand persons. (I. Birch, Charles, p. 242; Whitbourne's Newfoundland, pp. 10, 19, 20, 56-58; Colonial Papers, p. 93, vol. iv. § 56; p. 95, § 62; p. 96, vol. v. § 3; Vaughan's Golden Fleece, 3d part, pp. 14, 35.)

But one of Lord Baltimore's most discouraging difficulties arose from his own change of religion. While he remained a Protestant, and up to the time of his arrival, in 1627, the colony had been peopled with Protestants. He then brought with him two seminary priests, Longvill and Anthony Smith; and the mass and the forms and ceremonies of the Church of Rome were, for the first time, introduced into the little Protestant community. This was naturally regarded with disfavor, both by the residents of Ferryland, and the rest of the English in or about the island. It was openly denounced. The leading malcontent, Erasmus Stourton, chaplain of the Earl of Anglesea, and whom Lord Baltimore called an audacious man, was banished the colony for his misdeeds. Lord Baltimore, on the other hand, as naturally cherished the hope of worshipping freely in his own way, and of making his colony, eventually, a Catholic community; or, at least, one in which the Catholic element should predominate. To this end, he returned again to England with Longvill; and, in his stead, brought out Hacket, another seminary priest, with forty papists. For this timely succor to his little church militant, he was indebted to the influence and active co-operation of his zealous friend, Sir Tobias Matthew. (Colonial Papers, p. 94, vol. iv. § 59; p. 101, vol. v. § 27; Whitbourne's Newfoundland, pp. 3, 5, 67, 71.)

The severity of the following winter, 1628-9, was so extreme, that he and fifty more, out of the one hundred persons of his company, were prostrated by disease, and nine or ten died. Disheartened by this calamity, in the following August he communicated the particulars to the king, and assured him that he could no longer resist the difficulties of the place, but was forced to shift to some warmer climate of the New World, where the winters were shorter and less rigorous. His own strength, he added, was much decayed, but his "own inclination, carrying him naturally to proceedings in plantations, he desired a grant of some precinct in Virginia, with such privileges as King James had granted him in Newfoundland." Three months after, the king replied, urging him very kindly to desist from the further prosecution of his designs, as involving too much hardship for men of his condition and

As soone as we were now come to an anchor, we descried a small barke coming out from Point Comfort, which bare with us and a bout half an howr after, we came to an an-

habits of life, and "to return to his native country, where he should enjoy such respects as his former services and late endeavors justly deserved." (Colonial Papers, p. 101; vol. v. §§ 27, 39, 40.)

In the mean time, Lord Baltimore had proceeded to Virginia, and arrived at Jamestown, where the assembly was in session. He made known his wishes to Governor Pott and the council. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were tendered to his lordship, and some of his followers. Declining to take the oath of supremacy, he was desired to quit the colony by the earliest opportunity. Finding his reception cold, and his stay unwelcome, he bent his course along the shores of the Chesapeake, of which Lady Baltimore, the year before, in an excursion to Virginia, had gained some knowledge. He was so well satisfied with the aspect of the country, and the mildness of its climate, that, under the liberty of choice which King Charles had already given him, he decided to designate as the site of his future residence, and the subject of his patent, the territory which now forms the State of Maryland. On his return to England he did not surrender his patent for Avalon; but, in 1637, it was superseded by a grant of all Newfoundland to Sir David Kirke; and Cecil, Lord Baltimore was dispossessed of it until the year 1660, when, by the king's (Charles II.) warrant, Sir Louis Kirke, John Kirke, and others, were required to restore the land and houses in Avalon, belonging to him by virtue of the patent granted to his father. The king, however, was ready to fulfil all his engagements respecting the grant of Maryland; but owing, possibly, to remonstrances from Virginia, Lord Baltimore's ill health, questions as to the extent and boundaries of the territory, or some other obstacles not accounted for, the letters-patent had not passed the seal, when this wise and most estimable nobleman died, in April, 1632. On the 20th of June following, the patent was issued to Lord Cecil Baltimore, his son and heir. He had accompanied his step-mother to Virginia; and it is an act of justice to Lady Baltimore to remark, that the judgment and intrepid enterprise which led her, in the midst of a French war, to venture upon an excursion to Virginia in search of a new residence, contributed essentially to the subsequent visit of her husband, — in which she also accompanied him, — to his selection, and the final establishment of Maryland as the site of the new colony. In her year's residence in Newfoundland, she had experienced enough of the physical and social privations and discomforts of colonial life in that place, to make her eager to quit it, with her husband and family, at once and for ever. (Colonial Papers, p. 95; vol. iv. § 62, p. 101; vol. v. § 40, pp. 151, 152; §§ 56, 57, 58, p. 260; vol. ix. § 76, pp. 481, 482; vol. xiv. § 9; II. Birch, James, p. 326; II. Birch, Charles, pp. 53, 54.)

Previously to the severe winter of 1628-9, which so materially impaired the health of Lord Baltimore, the king had given him leave to choose some part of the Virginia territory, and he had consequently, in a memorial to Lord Dorchester, the Secretary of State, prayed that a grant might accordingly be made to him. In the interval between his return from Virginia in 1630, and the time of his death, in 1632, his physical debility made him greatly dependent on the assistance of others, first in settling upon the precise character, extent, and details of the grant, and, afterwards, in securing for it the approval of the members of Plantation Committee and the Privy Council. For all these things, he could have no more able, zealous, or indefatigable coadjutor, than his friend Sir Tobias Matthew. Except in regard to the permanent family property in the soil, and the absolute civil authority secured to Lord Baltimore, they were both acting in concert and pursuing one common purpose, that of establishing a firm foothold for the Catholic religion in two adjoining colonies, which would be likely to support and protect each other, and to counterbalance the growing Protestant influence of the more northern portions of the New World, which had recently been abundantly and exclusively favored by the council for New England. Of the value of Matthew's co-operation in such an undertaking, some estimate may be formed even from the account, or caricature, given of him eight or ten years later by Habernfield, in the

chor cloase aboard our Vice Admirall. We thought she had bene some vessel bound from Virginia to New England, whither the Inhabitants of Virginia drive a great

papers communicated to Archbishop Laud in October, 1640, by Sir William Boswell, English resident at the Hague. He is there represented as "a most vigilant man of the chief heads" (of the alleged plot for the assassination of the king, Laud, and others), occupied "day and night in his machinations;" never sleeping in a bed, "but an hour or two only in a chair; never quiet, but always in action; thrusting himself into all conversations of superiors, and urging conferences familiarly to fish out the minds of men;" habitually communicating to the Pope's legate whatever he had observed, that might "bring either commodity or discommodity to the conspirators" and to the Pope or Cardinal Barbarini (styled protector of England) the more secret things. "Whatever he has fished out," adds Habernfield, "he reduceth into a catalogue, and every summer carrieth, or conveyeth it to the general consistory of the Jesuits, which meets secretly in Wales; where he is an acceptable guest. There counsels are secretly hammered for the convulsion of the ecclesiastical and political state of both kingdoms." (Colonial Papers, p. 95, vol. iv. § 62; III. Rushworth, p. 1321.)

That Lord Baltimore and Sir Tobias Matthew were acting in concert in preparing a stronghold for the Romish faith in America, was a natural consequence of their peculiar spiritual relations. It has already been mentioned that the first convincing indication of his lordship's conversion, was his excursion to the north of England with Sir Tobias. Bishop Goodman, however, after vindicating the Earl of Middlesex and Sir John Digby from an aspersion in circulation that they had been bribed by Spain to favor the Spanish match, proceeds to say that "the third man, who was thought to gain by the Spaniards, was Secretary Calvert; and, as he was the only secretary employed in the Spanish match, so undoubtedly he did what good offices he could therein for religion's sake, being infinitely addicted to the Roman Catholic faith, having been converted thereto by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel, whose daughter Secretary Calvert's son had married. And as it was said the Secretary did usually catechize his own children, so to ground them in his own religion; and in his best room, having an altar set up with chalice, candlesticks, and other ornaments, he brought all strangers thither, never concealing any thing, as if his whole joy and comfort had been to make an open profession of his religion. (I. Goodman's James I. p. 376.)

This statement of the good bishop we cannot admit as entirely accurate, nor resist a suspicion that, by the loss of papers which elsewhere he laments, he was left, in after years when his book was written, without a guide as to dates, the order of events, and the relation they bore to each other. Chamberlain, whose letters were written at the moment things occurred, and whose experience and constant activity in the busy world had made him one of the truest and best-informed intelligencers of the time, recounts incidents that are wholly irreconcilable with the right reverend prelate's speculative construction of Sir George Calvert's motives and conduct. From the data contained in the letters referred to, it is evident that Sir George became a convert to his new faith in the summer of 1620, when he "drooped and kept out of the way." Within three months after he had made up his mind to resign the secretaryship, which he could not honestly or legally continue to hold, while as a Catholic he was bound to deny the king's supremacy. He accordingly, in a private interview, apprised the king of his change of religion, and urged it as an insuperable disqualification for office. The king was loath to part with an old and faithful servant, to whom he was much attached; and, though he reluctantly consented to his resignation of the secretaryship, insisted on his remaining in the Privy Council, as he did for the few remaining months of James's life. Several of the great personages about the king, being almost necessarily made acquainted with the circumstances, vague rumors were soon after in circulation, and suspicions expressed, that Sir George Calvert had turned Catholic. But nothing approaching to certainty was ascertained until, near the end of February, 1625, a few days

trade for Indian Corne. I sent my Lieutenant aboard her to enquire, whence she was and whither she was bound, and withall to learne what he could, both concerning the

after he had delivered the seals of office to his successor, Sir Albert Morton, Sir George went, with Sir Tobias Matthew, to the north of England. This, says Chamberlain, "confirms the opinion that he is a bird of the same feather." The purpose of this excursion probably was to obtain for Sir George a regular admission into the Catholic Church, according to its rites and ceremonies, at some one of the secret establishments of the Jesuits, which then existed in the northern counties. (II. Birch, James, p. 501; Oliver's Eng. Jesuits, p. vii.)

But, according to Bishop Goodman, Sir George had been a Catholic for years before this period, that is, from the time 1620 and 1621, when De Buisson and Cadenet successively proposed for Charles the hand of a French princess, and Spain was attempting by bribery, as was rumored, to induce Sir George and others in high station to favor the Spanish match. But if Sir George had been in the habit at that period, "of catechizing his children to ground them in the Catholic faith; of making a display, in his best room, of Catholic altars," &c.; never concealing any thing, but, on the contrary, taking the greatest pleasure in making "an open profession of his religion," the English community could not possibly have remained for four years in ignorance of these facts. His children would have told all to their companions and school-mates, and his visitors would have no reason for concealing what Sir George was delighted to publish to the world. The things asserted might be true some years after, but they were not true then.

The Bishop intimates that the Earl of Arundel took part in the conversion of Sir George for family reasons. He says that the son of Sir George had married the Earl's daughter. This is a palpable anachronism. Ann Arundel, who afterwards became the wife of Cecil Calvert, at the period in question was hardly five years old, if the inscription on her tomb at Tisbury, in Wiltshire, tells the truth. Not only, therefore, had the Earl, at that time, no special reason for helping to convert the father of his future son-in-law, but, according to Clarendon, he was thought to be not much concerned for religion or religious parties, and had neither a desire nor the fitting knowledge and capacity for making proselytes. (VII. Collins's Peerage, p. 47; I. Clarendon, p. 56.)

As to Gondomar, whom the bishop names as the pious ally of the earl in this work of conversion, he was, no doubt, eminently qualified to secure all possible political advantages for the Catholic cause, but to make converts to the Catholic religion, we doubt if he had either aptitude, adequate theological knowledge, or sufficient leisure or inclination, although he might, and perhaps did, set others to do it. Besides, at the date of Lord Baltimore's actual conversion, Gondomar had not, for the two years previous, been in England. It was the fashion of the day to lay almost every thing blamable at the door of Gondomar, and the good bishop appears to have been led into error by carelessly following the popular impulse. (II. Goodman, pp. 238-240; Dom. St. Papers, 1622, vol. 130, § 68.)

If Sir George Calvert's conversion is to be ascribed to any one, all circumstances now known point to Sir Tobias Matthew rather than to any other individual. Their familiar acquaintance, dating back as far, at least, as to their college life, kept up when Calvert became private secretary to Cecil, the Secretary of State and cousin of Matthew's best friend, Bacon, finally ripened into friendship when they were brought into frequent conference and joint labors for a purpose of great interest to both, the promotion of the Spanish match. This increased intimacy gave room for religious discussions; and, as it was Matthew's passion and special vocation to make converts, he would be sure to leave no means untried to gain over to his own faith a person, so honored and esteemed, as his friend the Secretary. This was accomplished: Sir George became not only a Catholic, but a Catholic of Matthew's own brotherhood, a Jesuit; and so, of course, became his son and heir after him. The reverend fathers, sent out by the latter to Maryland, were all Jesuits, and by them the infant colony was piously placed under the protection of its patron-saint, Ignatius Loyola,

state of Virginia and Maryland, which is my Lord of Baltimore's Collony; as likewise, on what tearmes those two Collonys were, and what correspondence, they had one

the founder of the order of Jesuits. It was much the same in the sister enterprise. Captain Yong, and his lieutenant and nephew, who had been selected by Matthew and his unknown associates to conduct it, were probably preferred for the reason that they were Jesuits. They certainly were Catholics, and, as such, to avoid being stopped at the port of embarkation, procured through Secretary Windebanke, on the 18th of April, 1634, the king's letter, declaring that, being employed in His Majesty's secret and particular service, they were authorized to leave the kingdom without being subjected to the usual examination or any questions. At various times respect was expressly required to be paid, both in Virginia and England, to the terms of this license in reference to Lieutenant Evelin. The subsequent proceedings of Yong were apparently carried on in concert with those of Maryland. Lord Baltimore's first emigrant ship did not leave England until two months after Yong had succeeded in obtaining his commission; and Yong's own vessels arrived in Virginia within four months after Lord Baltimore's people reached Maryland. (IV. Force's Tracts, White's Relation, pp. 8, 18; McSherry, p. 29; Colonial Papers, p. 171, vol. vi. §§ 82, 84, 86; p. 177, vol. viii. §§ 1, 8, 9, 10; p. 208, Id. § 62; p. 244, vol. ix. §§ 36, 37.)

The enterprise in which Yong was engaged was a preliminary experiment. He was its pioneer and subordinate agent, with certain privileges, but only with such delegated powers as the preservation of order and security, and the creation and prosecution of trade, demanded. He had no authority to take possession of the territory except in the king's name. If he had effected a permanent settlement, the next step would obviously have been a proprietary charter, granting to some favorite Catholic or Catholics of the day, an inheritable property in the soil, with the powers and attributes of civil government, as had been done in the case of Maryland; and, fifty years later, was done in favor of William Penn. But the enterprise had probably been abandoned shortly before Robert Evelin, in the autumn of 1636, went to reside in Virginia. In the beginning of the ensuing year, his name, as chosen by the Governor and Secretary, for surveyor of Virginia, in place of Gabriel Hawley, deceased, was on the list, in Secretary Windebanke's office, for the king's confirmation. From a brief note, in the same office, of Councillors of State for Virginia, it appears that Robert Evelin, Captain Christopher Wormeley, Richard Townsend, and John Sysbye, were the persons named for the king's approval, and "to be sworn forthwith of his Council, and Evelin to continue to enjoy the favors" (exemption from question as to his religious tenets) granted to him by the king's letters on his first embarkation for America. These appointments, though not mentioned in Virginia records or histories, were duly confirmed. In the close of his letter to Lady Plowden, the wife of Sir Edmund, the patentee of New Albion, which was published four years later, in 1641, he expresses his "hope to visit her in New Albion, and to do her all the good offices in *Virginia* that his *place* or friends could serve her in." Sir Edmund was then preparing to embark for his colony. Evelin's tract containing the letter was intended to encourage others to join him. Its title may be briefly sketched as "Directions for Adventurers, and a true Description of New Albion in North Virginia, in a letter from Mayster Robert Eveline, &c." It is one of the rarest of books. It was reprinted as part of Plantagenet's New Albion, in 1648. Streeter, in his admirable tract "The First commander of Kent Island," in a note at the end mentions Robert as the brother of George Evelin, and that he is said to have died in the West Indies; but as he had not access to sources of information recently laid open, the account he gives of Evelin, after he left his uncle Yong's expedition, is defective, and in some respects erroneous. Robert Evelin's competency for the office of surveyor may be inferred from the fact that Captain Powell's Map of New England was made up, in one part, from a draught by Evelin of his own survey. His predecessor in office, Gabriel Hawley, was a friend of Lord Baltimore, and by him employed, in 1633, to provide lodgings for the men and women about to embark for Maryland; but, failing to pay the expense incurred, £60

with another and with the Indians also. When he came aboard, he found this Barke to be a vessell of Virginia, belonging to one Captayne Cleyborne, who liveth upon an Island within my Lord of Baltimore's Territory, called the Ile of Kent. But the Captayne was gone aboard our Vice Admirall, and thither my Leiuetenant went to him. Where after salutations and some discourse passed to and fro, they fell in talke concerning my Lord of Baltimore's Company, which arrived heere in March last. He discovered that there was growne great discontents between my Lord's Company and him with his friends, because as well as he could though even by some words that now and then fell from him unawares, my Leiuetenant saith a man might read much malice in his heart towards them. After some

was put into the Fleet prison, and the creditors petitioned the king to order the arrest and detention of the ships of the principal, Lord Baltimore, then ready to sail. As the vessels soon went to sea, and Gabriel Hawley to Virginia, it may be presumed that the affair was adjusted to Lord Baltimore's satisfaction; and his needy friend, at his instance, freed from prison, and made surveyor of Virginia, in which he was probably the only Catholic. Gabriel Hawley's brother, Jerome, gentleman sewer to Queen Henrietta Maria, joint commissioner of Maryland, with Captain Cornwallis, and of course one of the leading and ablest of the colonial officers, went from Maryland to England in the summer of 1635, and there became so intimate with Sir John Harvey as to be intrusted with all disbursements to be made in Sir John's preparations for returning to his government; and in two months after the embarkation of the Governor and his suite, having persuaded the king that he could effect great savings in rents, &c., was appointed Treasurer of Virginia, and the Governor and Council were required to administer to him the customary oaths, and to admit him as councillor on his taking the oath of allegiance, but not otherwise. He appears to have been loose and dilatory in his pecuniary transactions. Both Sir John Harvey, and Robert Reade, the private secretary of Windebanke, had much reason to complain of him. George Reade, the brother of Robert, who was in Virginia, was left without servants, money, and many necessities, owing to the new Treasurer's non-fulfilment of engagements, for which he had been placed in funds, in advance.

This appointment of Jerome Hawley was the third made of Catholics to office in Virginia, and it can hardly be doubted that the Jesuits in England connected with the projects for colonization in North America, who in 1637 had apparently reached the summit of royal favor, had, with the queen's help, prevailed on the king to force upon the sturdy and jealous Protestants of Virginia, this unwelcome admixture of Catholic officials, by flattering his hopes of increased revenue, while their own main purpose was to confirm and strengthen their own colonial power, and to reduce comparatively that of Virginia. The functions of their respective officers, the Treasurer and Surveyor, extending to all parts of the country, would enable them to keep their superiors in England well advised of all that was passing in the colony; and if, in their capacity of councillors, they could not control proceedings at the council table, they could, at least, enable their co-religionists to do so effectually in England, as long as they continued in favor at court. (I. Hazard, p. 338; II. Force's Tracts, N. Albion, pp. 10, 22-24; I. Allibone Dict. of Authors; Streeter's Kent Island, p. 44; Colonial Papers, vol. vi. § 86; vol. viii. §§ 7-10, 54, 55; vol. ix. §§ 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 77, 86.)

two hours, my Leiuetenant brought Captayne Cleyborne within aboard my ship, where he remayned till the morning.

By him I understand, that the Governor of Virginia, S^r John Harvie had bene in Maryland at the Plantation there, which is called S^t Maries, there to have heard and composed the differents, which were growne between those of my Lords Collony and this Cleyburne's, and that, that night he was arrived at Point Comfort. That in his company also were Captayne Calvert Governor of Maryland, Captayne Cornewallis, M^r Hawley, and other principall gentlemen of Maryland; and that they were come thither purposely for the composing of those differents, but that he, for his part, purposed not to be there, but to retire himself to his own Plantation, under pretence that he went thither to take order for the securing thereof against certayne Indians who had lately, as he understood, killed a man and a boy of his; but I playnly perceaved that the principall and mayne reason of his retreat was to absent himself from that meeting. I found the man subtle & fayer spoken, but extreemely averse from the prosperity of that Plantation. He alleaged that my Lord's company had accused him to the Governor of Virginia for animating, practizing, and conspiring with the Indians to supplant and cutt them off: that the Governour had appointed certayne commiss^{ners} of this Collony to joyne with certayne other Comm^{ers} of my Lords Collony to examine the truth of that accusation and that upon their information, he purposed to proceed herein according to justice. That accordingly they had examined the matter and had found no grounds for their accusations and so he conceaved, that the purpose of their cōming was only to make a reconciliation, but that for his part he purposed not to be there. On the other side, he pretended that heeretofore he had borne very good correspondense with them and that he had furnished them with hoggs & other provisions, and done them what curtesies were in his

power, till my Lord's people had given directions for the taking & surprizing his boates, which went to trade and likewise of his owne person. After which discourse, he parted from me, telling me (though I perceaved afterwards he ment it not) he would meet me at Point Comfort, but he came no more to me. The next morning, I weighed as soone as the tide served, and about eleven of the clocke, I came to an anchor within Point Comfort, where now I ride. Heere I understood that the Governor was hard by, and as soone as I had fitted my self, I tooke boate with intention to have awaited upon the Governour on shoare, but as soone as I was in my boate, I descried his Barge on the River, making towards our shipp, soe I stood in with him to meet him, and requeste holpe, but he perceaving me coming towards him, stood towards my Vice Admirall, whither also I stood and gott into the ship before him who, as soone as he perceaved me aboard, presently cheering ship. After I had saluted him, he was pleased to treat me with much curtesy and great affection, to whom I presented his Ma^{ties} tres [letters]. After he had read them he assured me that he would in all things most willingly and observantly obey his Ma^{ties} [commands] which I have also found him most effectually and affectionately observe on all occasions, wherein I had cause to require his assistance.

In his company, of my Lord Baltimore's plantation I mett only Captayne Cornewallis (for Captayne Calvert fell sicke by the way and returned), who was come hither purposely to meet with Cleyborne, whom I mentioned before.

After some time I took Captayne Cornewallis aside & told him what discourse had passed between Cleyborne and me. He answered that this Cleyborne had dealt very unworthily and falsely with them. That he had also labored to procure the Indians to supplant them by informing them, that they were Spaniards and that they had a purpose to destroy them & take their Country from them

— That the Indians had a purpose to have attempted, had they not been dissuaded by one Captayne Fleet, who had, in former times, lived amongst them & is now in good creditt with them — That Cleyborne had contrived divers other malicious plotts & conspiracies against them — That some others also of the principall Councillors of Virginia might justly be suspected to have animated Cleyborne to his foule practises — That his conspiracy & practises was proved against Cleyborne, both by the confession of the Indians and likewise by the confession of Christians taken upon oath — That he himself publicly protested, that if my Lord's Plantation should surprize or take any of his boates, he would be revenged, though he joined with the Indians in a canoa. That heerupon the Governour of Maryland complayned thereof to S^r John Harvie, the Govern^r of Virginia, who forthwith took the matter into his consideration; upon hearing the accusation of the one and the defence of the other, it was ordered, that Cleyborne should remayne confined in the hands of one Captayne Matthews and Captayne Utie two councillors of State in Virginia, though both of them private friends to Cleyborne, whom he ordered to keep Cleyborne from any conferences or messages to the Indians; and they two should forthwith, taking Cleyborne along with them, repaire to my Lords Plantation in Maryland, where also two Com^{rs} namely, Captayne Cornwallis & M^r Hawley, chosen for that Colony, should be joined with them; and that they should take, on both sides, interpreters, & from thence goe, in company together, to the Indians, and examine the truth of this examination; but that Cleyborne was not to be present at the examination, and that they should make a true relation of the state of the buisness to the two Governo^{rs}, who would expect them in his plantation at Maryland. But precisely & expressly ordering them, that they should be carefull, in no case, to suffer any conference to be had with the

Indians, on either side, either directly or indirectly. But these two Captaynes, taking along with them Cleyborne went towards Maryland, not with any purpose (as it afterwards appeared by the sequell) to comply with the Governo^{rs} order of Virginia; having subtly & sinisterly inveigled into their company two very young gentlemen of my Lords Collony (whereof the one was a younger Brother of my Lords, the other of S^r John Winter), with fair words, finding them in a joviall humor, perswaded them to accompany them to the examination of these Indians, and so taking these for my Lords Com^{rs}, instead of going to my Lords plantation at Maryland, or giving any notice of their arrivall in those parts, they take this advantage, and, with these young gentlemen with themselves tooke & chose in place of Comm^{rs}, they goe directly to the Indians, taking with them also Cleyborne & a servant of his for their Interpreter, and there, in the presence of Cleyborne, examine the Indians upon such Articles and with such Interrogatories as they thought would best serve for Cleyborne's advantage, using also the helpe of the Interpreter to frame such answerres from the Indians, as would best suit with their purpose. When they had done, they putt his examination in writing, and after they had themselves signed it, they procured also these two young gentlemen to putt their hands also thereunto, as taken before them. This examination they sent to my Lord's plantation at Maryland, by one of the Councell of Virginia, (for I should have told you that there went also two other Councello^{rs} of Virginia with them (who went without or rather contrary to the order only to countenance the carriage of this plott the better) to my Lords plantation at Maryland (where all this while both the Governo^{rs} remaynde expecting their coming) and in his company came also one of the Indian Kings, called the King of Patuxunt, procured by them to come thither to justify the truth and impartiality of their proceedings,

Laboring by their indirect proceeding to cleerr Cleyborne from his crimes and also to incense and exasperate the Indians, both against my Lords people & against those other Christians, also, who had informed them thereof, suggesting & intimating to them that my Lord's were turbulent people, who cared not what false pretenses & suggestions they framed, to deprive others of their estate, which it was evident they labored to wring out of the hands both of the Indians & Christians also, that so in fine they might become Lords of that Country. The Governor of Virginia not finding himself well intreated by them, returned to Virginia, where he made account to finde them expecting him, as they sent him word there by the messenger I spake of before, they wouldat Kecoughtan, but when he came thither he found them all gone, soe as he could at that time doe nothing therein, But he had appointed them a new time for their appearance at James Towne.

Concerning his complaint that my Lords company would have surprized his boates & him, Capt^e Cornewallis told me that Cleyborne had been offered all faire correspondence, with as free liberty to trade, as themselves, but he refused it; wherefore the Governor gave order to forbid him to trade. That concerning the surprizall of his person though his carriage towards them very well deserved it, yet it was only a meere supposition and jealousy of his owne, without any grounds.

This, so farre as I can learne, is the true state, wherein my Lord of Baltimores plantation stands with those of Virginia, which perhaps may prove dangerous enough for them, if there be not some present order taken in England for the suppressing the insolence of Cleyborne & force his complines (s) and for disjoynting this faction, which is soe fast linked and united, as I am perswaded will not by the Governor be easily dissevered or over ruled, with(out) some strong & powerful addition to his present authority by

some new power from England: and it will be to little purpose for my Lord to proceed in his colony against which they have so exasperated and incensed all the English Colony of Virginia, as heere it is accounted a crime almost as heynous as treason to favor, nay allmost to speak well of that Colony of my Lords. And I have observed myself a palpable kind of strangenesse & distance between those of the best sort in the country who have formerly bene very familiar and loving one to another, only because the one hath bene a well wisher to the Plantation in Maryland.

The Governor only of Virginia (a gentleman in good faith in my judgment, of a noble mynde and worthy heart) out of his care to observe his Ma^{ties} commands signified to him by his Royall letters & also out of his own good inclinations hath carried himself very worthily & respectively towards them and is ready on all occasions to give them all the assistance & furtherance that possibly he can. Though thereby he hath acquired to himself extreame hatred & malice from all the rest of the country, to whom I can find only two of his counsell indifferent, the one of them called Captaine Purfree a souldier and a man of an open heart honest & free, hating for ought I can see all kinds of dissimulation & basenesse; the other an honest playne man but of small capacity & lesse power.

The person upon whom the strength and sinewes of this faction depends is one Captayne Mathews an ancient planter here, a man of a bold spirit, turbulent & strong in the faction of the more refractory sort of the country and as I have bene informed by persons of good credit a great opposer & interpreter of all letters & commands that come from the King & state of England apt also to possesse & preoccupate the judgments of the rest of his fellow counsellors that letters from the King & from the Lords are surreptitiously gotten & that the obedience to them may & ought to be suspended till they be warranted

by second commands from England, which may issue from them, after the Lords have bene informed by them; for that many times, the Lords are not sufficiently instructed in the necessities and conveniencies of this government, heere pretending and making them beleieve, that every kind of disobedience doe oftentimes become gratefull to the State. This gentleman, as I heare, is lately married to the daughter of one Sir Thomas Hintón, who is lately retired hither into these parts, and he grows, as is conceaved, much bolder by this alliance, as hoping by his power to find great strength in England, though for my part, I conceive he hath but small ground for those hopes, yet, heere, we have it very confidently and very frequently reported, that a sonne of S^r Thomas Hinton's, who is a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, is to come over hither Governor.

S^r John Harvye invited me, very earnestly, that during the time, that my ship was making ready and my shallop building, I would accompany him to James Towne, whither he was going; which I accepted as a favor, partly led thereunto with desire to see the country, partly also to see the event of my Lord's buisnesse, and likewise, a little to recreate myself after my long voyage, wherein, I thank God, I have yet had my health very well. We lay two nights by the way; at a gentlemans house a planter of the country one night, & the other most parte of it aboard S^r John's barge. The country aboundeth with very great plentie of milk, cheese, butter & corne, which latter almost every planter in the country hath.

The country is very good & fertill, the climate pleasant & wholesome and with good husbandry will soone grow into great abundance, and a great Trade may quickly be drawn heere, if good providence and care be taken, which will much advance his Ma^{ties} customes.

While I stay heere at James Towne, where I now am, I meet dayly with severall of the best & most understanding sort of the Inhabitants of this place, by whom I enforme

myself, as much as I can, of the State of this country ; and I find really that the present Governor hath carried himselfe heere with very great prudence, hath been extraordinary dilligent in advancing & furthering the Colony, a great reformer of the abuses in the Government, especially in point of justice, which, at his first entrance, was full of corruption & partiality, the richest & most powerfull oppressing & swallowing up the poorer, though now much amended by his care & zeale to justice, though, even in that also, he is sometimes overborne by the strength & power of some factious & turbulent spirits of his councill, for, heere in this place, all things are carried by the most voyces of the Councill, and they are for the most part united in a kind of faction against the Governor ; inso-much as they make their public consultations give strength and authority to their faction, and it is hard for the Governors to determine or order any thing heere, contrary to their dreaming ; for they come all preoccupied & resolved to follow & concurr with the votes of their leaders of the faction. Captain Mathews, of whom before I spake, is the head & cheefe supporte. This gentleman, as I am told, tooke the boldenesse publikly when the kings letter was delivered & read in favor of my Lord of Baltimore was there read, to question, whether they were not surreptitiously procured, and it is vehemently suspected, and they say, not without reason, that he hath bene the incendiary of all this wicked plott of Cleybourne's, and yet continues to be the supporter and upholder of him, and except my Lord finde some meanes, speedily & in á very exemplar manner, to curb & suppress this man's insolencies, he will dayly find more & more practizes & treacherous conspiracies contrived against him ; and verily I beleieve, if my Lord could finde meanes over heere to eclipse his power & greatnesse, or to remove him from hence, the backes of this faction would soone be broken & this strong knot would untie of itselfe. Nor is that other

instrument of his, of whome I spake before, namely Cleybourne, lesse carefully to be lookt unto, since his practizes, though they be not so publike, as the other insolencies, yet are they not lesse dangerous to that Colony; yea and to the security of the pease of this very land and government of Virginia, where I have bene informed, that some of the Councillors have bene bold enough, in a presumptuous manner, to say, to such as told them, that perhaps their disobedience might cause them to be sent for into England, That if the King would have them, he must come himself and fetch them.

When the Governor came first into that Country, it was in great scarcity & want of victualls, insomuch as though it abounded with Tobacco, they starved for want of corne; nay they were forced yearly to expect from England great supplies of victualls, insomuch as it was the custome to transport hither from England whole yeares provision for every man they landed heere. Though now, at this present, through his care & provident government the country is not only able abundantly to support itselfe and 1500 persons more, who have landed heere this yeare, but it hath, this very year also, bene able to spare their zealous neighbours of New England tenne thousand bushels of corne for their releefe, besides good quantities of beeves, goats & hoggs, whereof this country hath great plentie; and it is credibly reported, that at this present, there are about five thousand heads of beeves heere, whose increase the Governor takes great care to preserve & increase, insomuch as he sufereth them not to transport any females, but such as, through age are growne unlikely to survive the winter. Soe as, in short time, heere will be a great Trade for beefe, hides, Tallow, bacon & goats skinnnes, which will greatly increase his Ma^{ties} customes. The swine heere are excellent & I never tasted better in Italy or Spaine.

This country also, at the Governors first comming hither,

was utterly destitute of fortifications, but he hath erected a very good fort in a most convenient place, called Point Comfort lying in the mouth of James River, which commandeth the harbor in such sort, as no vessel can passe without license. In it are mounted eight pieces of ordinance demi-culverin & Saker, and more also he hath to mount there but wanting carriages for them.

When the Governor came first hither, he found James River only inhabited, and one plantation on the eastern side of the Bay, but now, he hath settled divers good plantations upon another River, which lieth northerly from James River and hath caused a strong pallisade to be builded upon a streight betweene both rivers, and caused houses to be built in severall places upon the same, and hath placed a sufficient force of men for defence of the same, whereby all the lower part of Virginia have a range for their cattle, neere fortie miles in length, and in most places twelve miles broad. The pallisades is very neere six miles long, bounded in by two large Creekes. He hath an intention in this manner to take also in all the ground betweene those two Rivers, and so utterly exclude the Indians from thence; which work is conceived to be of extraordinary benefitt to the Country, and of no extreame difficultie, in case he may be countenanced from England in his good endeavors by the State of England and assisted by the Inhabitants heere, who for the present are very destitute of all manner of Arms & munitions for the defence of the country, which the Governor had given order to his Agents in England to provide out of his owne meanes to the value of five hundred pounds and to have sent over, but by reason of his Maties faylour of his payments of his pension from his Maties (customs ?) he was disappointed thereof, and the country remayned unfurnished, though in extreame want thereof, insomuch as if the Indians should invade the country at this present, it is to be feared they might much endanger the ruine thereof,

yet now he is purposed to publish an edict this winter for the avoyding the like inconveniences hereafter, that no person whatsoever shall transport hither any persons of above fourteen years of age without sufficient provision of arms & munitions for a yeare.

The first autumn of his arrival here he undertook a very noble enterprize, which was to make discovery many days journey up into the country, wherein he employed two hundred men, well victualled and armed, to goe westward, towards a nation, called the Monachans, to make enquiry after a silver myne, which is heere confidently reported to have bene discovered by a Dutch man in the time of Sir Thomas Gates his government but through the wants and extreameties of those times neglected. The charge of this buisnesse was committed to Captaine Mathews, by whose slownesse in setting forth they were overtaken by the winter, and forced to returne through the unseasonableness of the season, without any satisfaction, though the probabilities and hopes of this enterprize were great enough, had they bene dilligently & carefully persued by Mathews; and it is great pitie it should soe die.

The Governor heere hath many goods designed for the advancing and furthering of this plantation and encreasing his Maties revenew heere, which I have not time heere to relate, neither will there be opportunity since, I fear me, I am already growne too tedious; but partely through his owne wants, which are great, & partly through the perversenesse of his owne Councill, who lead away with malice & dislike, oppose every proposition of his, however beneficiall to the country, choosing rather to deprive themselves of the good, that might arise to themselves thereby, than that he should be the author of such a benefitt to the country; to soe great a heighth is their envie growne towards him.

The charge of this gentleman is extraordinary in regard that this seate of James Towne hath in it no other place

of receipt, but only the Governors owne house, wherein he is continually at excessive charges in his housekeeping, as well in entertayning the whole councell and their retinewes, which are not small, at all times, whensoever any occasions either of the King's or Countrye's service requires. Their attendance, and that sometimes for a weeke or fortnight, nay, sometimes for a month together, which meetings grow dayly more and more frequent, as the Colony increases in number and so consequently in buisnesse both for the State & Country; this house also is the randevouz of all sorts of strangers, who have any occasion of resort thither upon any buisnesse, whatsoever insomuch as the Governor's is, as it were, a generall harbor for all comers, which is of incredible charge to him, who, by reason of these extraordinary charges and the want of that pension from England, exhausts & lessens his owne private stores; insomuch as he is now inforced to kill even his owne draught oxen for the supply of his house. For my part, I protest I doe extreamely commiserate the necessities of the gentleman, and the extreamities & indigencies, which he is now in; and in good faith, I conceive it will bee impossible for him to subsist, without some present order to be there taken for his reliefe for heere his yearly charge cannot be lesse than one thousand pounds p. annum and his revenues small, little or nothing, nor is it possible for him, the state & dignities of his place performed, to abate his charges, neither yet will the public affaires permitt him to apply even his own domesticke servants to his private weale.

This countrey is at this present full of rumors of warrs; for hither the countrey resorts dayly, from all parts, with newes that the Indians are gathering heade. The countrey is extreamly unprovided of all sorts of munition, which perhaps may give both courage & confidence to the Indians to take this advantage to fall upon them. Though yet, on the other side, some report their purpose is not to

breake the league with this colony, but that their designes are more Northerly, to supplant a new nation, that is lately seated there (which can be no other than my Lords colony; and if it should prove soe, we may well beleieve it hath bene wholly contrived by the malice & uncristianlike pollicy of this wicked confederacy. God Almighty keep them from such devilish practizes.

This much I thought good to ("acquaint you with"
cancelled) give you account of, and I hold myselfe somewhat thereunto by duty both to God & his Ma^{tie} in whose service I now am not to passe over so foule practises and undutiful proceedings towards his Ma^{tie} and his Ministers in these parts, in silence, without a relation of the truth thereof, or at least so much thereof, as I could gather from the most discreet and indifferent persons of the countrey, wherein, I protest, I have proceeded indifferently, as a person wholly disinterested in the proceedings, either of the one or the other. And I humbly beseech you, if you see fitt to show this to my Lord Treasurer or my Lord Cottington or M^r. Secretary Windebanke, to present withall my most humble service to him. And I beseech you also to lett my Lord of Baltimore see this, to whom also I present my ("most"
cancelled) humble service that he may take therein what course shall seeme best in his owne (wiser?) judgment and prudence.

I hope within these two dayes to sett sayle from heere, I have nothing else at present, but whatsoever shall occurre by the next opportunity I shall take the boldnesse to trouble you with the relation.

In the meane time I beseech you pardon me this tedious discourse which I (hope?) . . . and love to justice will easily persuade you to doe. Sir I hope by the next you shall hear some good newes of good hopes from me concerning my buisnesse, which I am resolved most dilligently & most effectually to follow.

Thus with my most affectionate service to you, I hum-

bly kiss your hands. From James Towne Cittie this 13th of July (1634)

your most affectionate

humble servant

THOMAS YONG

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r HONO^r

I have herewith sent to your Hono^r a relation of the occurrents of my voyage from Virginia at this bearer my Leiuetennants departure from me in Charles River (for that name I have presumed to give the same in honor of his Ma^{ties} name) Neverthelesse I thought fitt to give y^or Hono^r a particular account of my endeavors & purposes concerning the passage apart and what reasons I have to hope and prosecute further the discoveries thereof whereby I trust yo^r Hono^r will perceave I have to attayne the same.

I passed up this great River, which I mention to yo^r Hono^r with purpose to have pursued the discovery thereof, till I had found the great lake, from which I am informed this great River issues, & from thence I have particular reason to beleieve there doth also issue some branches, one or more, by which I mought have passed into that Mediterranean Sea, which the Indian relateth to be foure dayes journey beyond the Mountains; but having passed neere fiftie leagues up the River, I was stopped from further proceeding by a ledge of rocks, which crosseth the River over, So as I could not gett over with my vessells, by reason of the shallownesse of the water, which at high water is not above a foot & a half-over the rockes, and at low water the Rockes are discovered five or six foot deepe, so that I determine against the next summer to build a vessel, which I will lanch above the rockes, in which I purpose to goe up to the Lakes, from whence I hope to find a way that leadeth into that Mediterranean Sea & from the

lake I judge that it cannot be lesse than 150 or 200 leagues to our North Ocean, and from thence I purpose to discover the mouths thereof which discharge both into the north & South Seas. But if I shall fayle of arriving to the lake which I am confident I shall not I will then take with me out of my vessell both workmen and provisions which shall be portable for the building of a small vessell which I will carry those foure days journey overland (whereof the Indian speaketh in the Relation) with a competent number of men and there I purpose to cutt downe wood & sett up a vessell upon the bankes of that Sea and from thence make my discovery. And I am confident that this which I propose is feaseable, for I am informed by the Indian, who offereth to accompany mee, and is and will be in my power, that beyond these rockes there are no more rockes nor falls to hinder my passage, so farre as he hath bene.

This River I conceive to be the most probable place for the discovery thereof in regard it runneth so farre westerly and I for my part shall most willingly undergoe all hazards & dangers & to be at much charge for the service of his Ma^{tie} and honor of my country; and I hope to give yo^r Honor good satisfaction of my endeavors heerein. the next winter. In the meane time, I humbly desire yo^r Honor to caste me at his Ma^{ties} feet & to be a meanes, that his Ma^{tie} may continue his goodnesse & protection of me and that I may not be hindered in the prosecution thereof by any persons, either abroad or at home, & moreover that according to his Ma^{ties} gracious grant, I may enjoy those trades, I discover in my voyage and that the passage being once found, as I presented it to his Ma^{tie}, I may also have the benefitt of his Ma^{ties} articles, whereof I nothing doubt, since I have proceeded so cleerely & do undertake all without putting his Majesty to any charge. Only because I may have occasion to fortifie in some few places, as I goe, and especially in the River, where I now am, which

is broad, if he will be graciously pleased to lend, if not bestow on mee some tenne, or twelve pieces of Iron Ordnance, whereof I wish that some were half-culvering at the least, I shall acknowledge my selfe infinitely bound to his Ma^{tie}, and whether he favor me with this or no, I will yet be sure to serve him & love him and venture my life for him and for the honor of my country with the same alacritie & will by Gods grace both live and die an honest man. To yo^r Honor I am most particularly bound for your great favors and despatch and will think myself happy in being able to do you ever all humble service and so I most humbly kisse yo^r Honor's handes this 20th of october 1634 from Charles River.

yo^r Hono^{rs} most humble
& most obedient Servant

THOMAS YONG

A briefe Relation of a voyage lately made by me Cap-
tayne Thomas Yong since my departure from Virginia
upon a discovery which I humbly present to the Right
Hon^{ble} S^r Francis Windebanke, knight, Principall Sec-
retary of State to his Ma^{tie}.

The particulars of all occurrents that happened unto me from my departure out of England till my arrivall in Virginia; and likewise what passed while I was there I sent in a Relation to S^r Tobie Matthew entreating him to present it to yo^r Honor, which I presume is already come to your handes; And therefore I omitt to trouble yo^r Honor with a second repetition thereof and now only intend humbly to give yo^r Honor account of such things as since that time have passed in my voyage.

As soone as I had stopped the leakes of my ship and finished my shallopp, I sett sayle from Virginia the 20th of July coasting along the coast from Virginia to the Northward, faire by the shoare and the 24th of the same month

I made that great Bay wherein I purposed at my departure from England to make triall for the Passage. I came to an Anchor that night in the mouth of the Bay and the next morning I entered the same. This Bay is in the mouth thereof 6 leagues broad and hath in the entrance thereof 12 fathoms water When I was got into the Bay I came to an anchor and sent my Leiuettendant in my shallop ashore on the South-west part of the Bay, to see if he could speake with any of the natives and to learn what he could of them concerning this Bay and the course, who after he had spent most part of the day in searching up & downe for the natives returned towards night without speaking with any of them. The next morning being the 26 I sayled some tenne leagues higher up into the Bay and then came to an anchor and agayne sent out my shallopp to see if I could meet with any of those natives but they returned as they did the day before without speaking with any of them. The 27 in the morning I weighed to proceed yet further into the Bay and after I had passed some 7 leagues up the Bay, my shallopp being then on head of me espied certayne Indians on the West side of the Bay to whom they made presently, but the Indians made away from them as soon as they came neere the shoare, soe I sayled along in the midst of the Bay and they coasted along by the shoare till about two in the afternoon, and then there came an Indian running along by the shoare and called to my shallopp; The shallopp presently made towards him who stayed till their arrivall but would not come aboard wherefore they landed and went to him, to whom presently also came three or four more. At last they perswaded one of them to goe aboard my ship and so they brought him to mee. I entertained him curteously and gave him buiscuit to eat and strong water to drink but the water he seemed not to rellish well. I also gave him some trifles as knives beads and a hatchett of which he was wonderfull glad. Then I began to en-

quire of him (by my Interpreter who understood that language) how farre the sea ran who answered me that not farre above this place I should meet with fresh water and that the River ranne up very farre into the land but that he had never bene at the head thereof. He told me further y^t the people of y^t River were at warre with a certain nation called the Minquaos who had killed many of them destroyed their corne and burned their houses inso-much as that the Inhabitants had wholly left that side of the River, which was next to their enemies & had retired themselves on the other side farre up into the woods the better to secure themselves from their enemies. He also told me that not long since there had bene a ship there and described the people to me and by his description I found they were Hollanders who had bene there trading for furs. Towards night he desired to be sett on shoare, which accordingly I commanded to be done. The next day being the 28 there came aboard of my ship an Indian with a Canoa with store of Eales, whereof I bought some for a knife and a hatchett and whilst I was discoursing with him concerning the River, for now I was entered into the mouth thereof, on a suddayne he fell into a great passion of fear and trembling. I wondered what the matter was and comforted him, and bad him feare nothing, he then showed me a canoa a good way of, making towards the ship, in which he said were some of the Minquaos and that they were enemies to him & to his nation and had already killed many of them and that they would kill him also if they saw him, and therefore he desired me to hide him from them; I told I would defend him & that they should not hurt him and that if they should dare to offer him any violence I then would kill them, he seemed very glad to hear me say so and gave me thankes but yet was very earnest to be hid from them saying that if they saw him they would watch for him ashore and there murder him; then I caused him to be putt into a cabbिन,

betweene deckes where he could not be seene. The Minquaos rowed directly to my ship and as soone as they gott neere her, they made signes for a rope which was cast out to them with which they made fast their canoa and presently came aboard without any difficulties. Our Interpreter understood but only some few words of their language, so as wee were forced for the most part to gather their meaning by signs the best we could. They told us they were Minquaos and that one of them was a king (for soe all the Indians call them, who are most eminent among themselves and they are in nature of Captaynes or Governors of the rest, and have power of life & death, of warre & peace over their subjects, Some have 1000, some 500 some more, some lesse) and made signs to us that they were lately come from warre with the other Indians whom they had overcome and slayne some of them and cutt downe their corne, (which is of the same kind with the corne of Virginia which they commonly call Maize). They brought a good quantity of greene eares thereof with them and some they presented to me & others they rosted & eate themselves. I used them curteously and gave them each of them a hatchett, a pipe, a knife, and a paire of sizers for which they were very thankful to mee, and then desired to see my trucke whereof I shewed him samples ; The King desired some of my cloath but having nothing to give in exchange thereof I gave him two small peices one of redd & the other of blew. They made signes to us that about 10 dayes (as we thought) (but we were mistaken for they meant weekes) as we perceaved afterwards they would come to us agayne and bring with them great store of trucke of beavers & otters, and therefore they desired to know where wee would be ; so I told them that about that time I would send my shallop to meet them there. Soe they departed and as soone as they were gone I called for the Indian who all this time lay hid in my cabbin who stayed aboarde of me till night and then departed a con-

trary way to that which the Minquaos went, promising to be with me the next day. Some two days after I being then gotten some tenne leagues up the River, there came to the shoare side 5 or 6 Indians and haled us. I sent my boats for them when they were arrived they told me they came from a king who lived not farre off and that if I pleased he would come and visitt mee. I answered them he should be welcome and so after they had stayed awhile & refreshed themselves aboard my shippe they departed. The next day we expected him but he came not, soe we departed up a little higher up the River & on the second of August this King came aboard us about noone accompanied with 40 or 60 Indians. After he had sate still awhile which they are ever wont to do upon the grounde he then told mee I was welcome into the Countrey and that he came to see me with desire to make peace with me, in regard he understood by an Indian that I was a good man, and that I had preserved him from the Minquaos who would otherwise have slayne him, and withall asked, if we had any trucke. He also presented mee with two otters skinnes and some greene eares of corne excusing himself that he had no better present for me, in regard that the Minquaos had lately harrowed his country and carried much beaver from him and his subjects and that the rest they had trucked away to the Hollanders who had lately bene there. I told him I was sent thither by a great king in Europe, namely the king of England and that I came thither to discover that country and to make peace with them, if they desired to embrace it and that if they would soe do, I would defend them from their enimies; he was very joyfull to hear this and desired me to tarry two dayes there, for he would bring there another king who was his father in law to make peace with mee and another king also who was his neighbor and the proprietor of that part of the River wherein I then rode. I condescended with him to stay two dayes. In the meane time, I took posses-

sion of the country for his Ma^{tie} and there sett up his Ma^{ties} armes upon a tree which was performed with solemnities usuall in that kinde. I enquired of this king how farre this river ranne up into the Countrey and whether it were navigable or no, he told mee that it ranne a great way and that I might goe with my shippe, till I came to a certaine place where the rockes ranne cleane crosse the River and that there he thought I could not goe over with my great canoas (for soe they call all vessells that swimme upon the water). I then desired him to lend me a Pilott to goe up to that place which he most willingly granted. I presented him with a Coat, a hatchett and a knife wherewith he was very well contented; so after he had stayd some 4 or 5 houres he tooke his leave. About some 3 or foure dayes after this king returned to me and in company with him two other kings whom I mentioned before, with whom I also made peace. Of the old king I enquired if he had ever bene at the head of the River; he answered me no but he had heard that the River ranne farre up into the land and that some few dayes journey beyond the rockes of which I spake before there was a mountainous countrey where there were great store of Elkes and that before the warre with the Minquaos they were wont to goe thither to hunt them but he said that neither he himself nor any of his people had ever bene further then those mountains. Those kings prayed me that I would do them the curtesie to stay foure or five days with them, because they were certainly informed that the Minquaos would within that time passe over the River to assault them, wherefore they desired me not to suffer them to passe over. I told them I would at their request stay five dayes and that I would labour to procure them peace, and that if their enimies refused the same that I would joyne with them against them and I would lend them souldiers to goe to warre in Company with them, and that I would also if occasion were, invade the Minquaos within their owne

countrie, upon this condition, that they shall renounce all trade or alliance with all other persons, save only his Ma^{ties} ministers & subjects & that they shall be wholly dependant on him, of which they were very joyfull & accepted the conditions and soe wee made a solemne peace. They not long after departed and it was spread all over the River that I had made peace with them, and that I was a just man, and would defend them against their enimies the Minquaos. Upon the report heerof some three dayes after, there came to me messengers with a present from two other kings who lived in a lesser River, which falleth into this great River somewhat neerer the rockes. They told me that their kings desired to make peace with me according as the other kings their neighbours had done, and that they had some beaver and otter skinnes, which they would trucke with me for such commodities as I had. I sent them word that some three days after, I would come up to the mouth of the River, where I would desire them to meet mee and that I would entreat one of those messengers to stay with me, till I were ready to goe, whom I would send to them, as soon as I was arrived; and one of them presently offered himself to stay with mee. When the five dayes were expired I sent to the former kings to let them understand that now I had tarried five days expecting the Minquaos and that seeing they came not I had sent my shallopp to seeke them out but it was returned without any notice of them and therefore that I thought they were not in the River, wherefore I now would goe up higher into the River to meet with the other kings, whither if they had occasion they should send to mee and I would send to assist them, desiring them withall to send me a pilot to carrie me to the Rockes. They sent me word they were sorry I was departing from them, neverthesse they hoped I would shortly return thither againe, and that if they had occasion they would send to mee and moreover one of them sent me his brother in com-

pany of my messenger & commanded him to goe up along with me, and to attend me and remayne with me till my returne thither againe which he did accordingly. As soone as my messengers were come backe, I sett forward and arrived at the mouth of the said River and not long after I was come to an anchor about 8 of the clocke in the evening came the two kings aboard of mee attended only with some foure or 5 of their principall men, for the rest of their company in regard it was night I desired them to leave on shoare till the morning. I entertained them aboard all night, and in the morning early being the 23 of August, the rest of their company came aboard. I gave each of them a present, as I had done to the other kings: which when they had receaved, first, the ancient king & afterward the younger called together all their people and made to them a long oration to this purpose. That we were a good people. That wee were just. That we were ready to defend the oppressed from the cruelties of their neighbours. That we were loving people, as a testimony whereof they shewed the presents I had given them. That we had brought thither such things as they stood in need of, for which wee desired only beaver & otter skinnnes whereof they had to spare. That therefore they commanded them to trade lovingly & freely with our people, that they should be carefull that no injuries were either publicly or privately done to them. That they should use them as friends & Brothers and that for me in particular they should honor & esteeme of me as a brother of their kings and that they should be carefull to carrie themselves dutifully towards mee; with a great deale more complement then I expresse. This being done, my company and the Indians fell a trucking, while these two kings entered into the same which the former had done, and then towards evening the elder king went ashore, the younger remaying aboard with mee. Thither also came two other neighboring kings with whom I also made

peace. Heere also was the first place where some of their woomen came aboard our shippe and heere during the space of five dayes that we tarried we had continually store of Indians aboard us. One night about one of the clocke in the night there rose an alarm amongst the Indians that lay ashore that the Minquaos were come upon them. The younger king was then aboard my ship who desired me to receave his people aboard till the morning, which I did, setting a good guard upon them & disarming them. In the morning I found this to proceed of nothing else but their pollicie to trie whether, if occasion were, I would really assist them or no. But howsoever the King gave me great thanks for my love to him & his people. After I had stayed there some five days I departed towards the head of the River and many Indians as I passed along came aboard my shippe with such commodities as they had, some with furs, some with victualls. On the 29 of August I had gotten up with my shippe as far as I could goe with her for now the water began to be shoally, so I came to an anchor, neere to the dwelling of one of the principall kings of this countrey who that same night learning that I was come to his countrey came aboard of me to visitt me, with whom also I made peace as with the former. This king & his brother are the greatest Travaylors that I mett among all the Indians in the River for they have bene by land at the lower foot of Hudsons river and likewise very farre up the River beyond the rockes I spake of. On the first of September I sent my leiuetenant in my shallop up to the Rockes both to sound the water as he went and likewise to trie whether my boates would passe the rockes or no. The Hollanders of Hudsons River having gotten some intelligence of our being heere by the Indians who in some places not above a dayes journey from them overtooke me here within sixe hours after I had first sent away my leiuetenant to the rockes. They came to an anchor close by me. I sent my boate presently aboard them to know what

they were and from whence they came and to bring the master to mee, who soone after came together with his marchant in their owne boate. When they were come aboard of me, I sent for them into my cabbin asked them what they made heere.* They answered mee they came to trade as formerly they had done. I asked him if they had any comission from his Ma^{tie} to trade in the River or no, They answered they had none from the King of England but from the Governor of New Netherlands they had. To which I replied that I knew no such governor nor no such place as New Netherlands. I told them this country did belong to the crowne of England, as well by ancient discovery, as likewise by possession lawfully taken, and that his Ma^{tie} was now pleased to make more ample discovery of this river, and of other places also, where he would erect collonies and that I was therefore sent hither with a Royall commission under the great Seale to take possession hereof I perceaved by their countenance that this newes strooke them could at heart and after a little pause, they answered mee, that they had traded in this River heretofore. I then replied that therein they had done his Ma^{tie} and his subjects the greater injurie, for supposing, as some of the Dutch pretended, that they had by his Ma^{ties} leave traded and planted in Hudsons River, yet ought they not to usurpe upon other trades and countreys of his Ma^{ties} without his leave, and since that he is now pleased to make use of this River either for himself or his subjects it would be good manners in them to desist. Then they desired to see my commission which I showed them and after they had read it & considered well thereof, apprehending the power I had, if they should trade without licence, to make them prize, they desired mee to give them a Copie thereof. I answered them that it was not the custome of England for his Ma^{ties} ministers to give copies of their Commissions; they then desired to know how I would proceed with them which they hoped

would be the better in regard they knew not of my commission. I told them I would let them know that hereafter when my leiuetenant was returned which perhaps would be the next morning.

The next day my leiuetennant being returned I sent for the Hollanders to dine with me and this I spent in making them wellcome, and after dinner one of them dranke to me saying Heere Governor of the South River (for soe they call this) I drinke to you and indeede confesse your commission is much better than ours. How say you Copeman (who is the head marchant) said he is it not? To whom the copeman answered yes indeede I have not seen a larger Commission. The next day about 8 of the clocke I sent for them to give them an answerre which was this. That in regard they were subjects to so antient allies of my country and that they were neighbours heere, and since they had carried themselves civilly, I had used with all curtesy that I might lawfully use; that since I had also shewed them my commission I made no question but that they knew sufficiently well what they had to do. Neverthelesse, I was willing they might stay at anchor two dayes longer to provide themselves of whatsoever they should need and that I would not suffer any thing to be taken from them during their stay. They then asked me, if I would command them to be gone. I answered, I command you not to be gone but you may looke into my Commission and there you may see whether it be lawfull for you to vizitt or trade into any places I shall possesse; where upon they read over the second time that part of my commission and then they answered they would be gone but they desired a note my hand for their discharge unto their Governor to shew the cause why they returned without trading. I answered it was not the custome of England and they had no need of any such note, since they had seene the Commission under the Great Seale, and that I could not beleieve but that their Governer would both credit and be satisfied

with their Relation, Soe they parted civilly though very sadly from mee. Before the time of two dayes was expired, they weighed anchor & went downe the River I sent my lieuutenant in my pinnace to see them clear of the River and to watch them lest they should doe mee ill offices with the Indians in their way homewards. In their going downe, they sometimes went aboard of one another after the manner of the Sea; and the Merchant of the Ship upon some discourse said that if they [had] bene in possession at my arrivall they would not have removed for all my commission and nor long after he said I would wee were in possession of it agayne, yet if the West India Company had been ruled by me they had planted this River, rather than Hudson's River and whilst my Lieuetenant commended Hudson's River for a good place, he replied yea, so it is but this is better; and further said were I sure we should loose this River I would tell you something that would please you. I gave my lieuutenant order that after he had watched these Hollanders out of the Bay he should goe and discover all along the coast as farre as Hudson's River and so on towards Cape Cod, to see if there were any probability of a passage through. Hee accordingly discovered along the coast as farre as Hudson's River, where he was overtaken with foule weather and contrary windes, where he endured the stormes till he was forced by the incommodiousnesse of his vessell and want of victuals to returne, In this voyage he lost two men who were killed by the Indians but found nothing worthy of particular Relation.

As soone as he was returned I sent him presently up once more to the falls to trie whether he could passe those rockes at a spring tide which before he could not doe at a neap tide, but it was then also impassable with any great boate wherefore he returned backe to mee agayne. When he saw he could not passe over the rockes he went up the River side some five miles above the rockes, to see whether

the river were passable or no, who informeth me, is deepe and likely to runne very farre up into the Countrey. Here also is the brother of the king of Mohigon who is the uppermost king that wee have mett with who relateth that he hath bene in a canoa 20 days journey up the River above the rockes which he describeth to runne northwest and west-northwest; that he was sent thither by his brother to a king of his alliance and that there he heard that this River some five dayes journey higher issueth from a great lake. He saith further that four days journey from this River, over certayne mountains there is a great mediterranean sea; and he offereth to goe him self along in person the next summer with myself or my leiuetennant to show us the same. He saith further that about two dayes journey above the falls or rockes the River divides itself into two branches the one whereof is this, wherein wee are, & the other trendeth towards Hudson's River, and that the farther you goe up the River the broader.

I beseech your honor give me leave to give you a short Relation of the commodities & situation of this River. This River discharges itself into a great Bay in the North part of Virginia in 39 & almost a half of latitude. The river is broad & deepe. and is not inferior to any in the north of America and a ship of 300 tonnes may saile up within three leagues of the rockes. The River aboundeth with beavers, otters, and other meaner furs, which are not only taken upon the bankes of the main River but likewise in other lesser Rivers which discharge themselves into the greater, whereof I think few Rivers of America have more or more pleasant. The people are for the most part very well proportioned, well featured, gentle, tractable & docible. The land is very good & fruitfull and withall very healthfull. The soyle is sandy and produces divers sorts of fruits, especially grapes which grow wild in great quantity, of which I have eaten sixe severall sorts,

some of them as good as they are ordinarily in Italy or Spaine; and were they replanted, I think they would be farre better. Heere also growes the fruit which in Italy they call lazarvoli, [Medlars?] plumms divers sorts of berries & divers other fruits not knowne in Europe. The climate is much like that of Italy and all sorts of fruits of that country will thrive heere exceedingly. The earth being fruitfull is covered over with woods and stately timber, except only in those places, where the Indians had planted their corne. The countrey is very well replenished with deere and in some places store of elkes. The low grounds of which there is great quantities, excellent for meadowes & full of beaver & otter. The quantity of fowle is so great as can hardly be beleaved, wee tooke at one time 48 partriches together as they crossed the river chased by wild hawkes. I myself sprang in two houres 5 or 6 conies in walking of a mile. There are infinite number of wild pidgeons, black birds, Turkeys, Swans, wild geese, ducks, Teales, widgions, brants, herons, cranes &c of which there is so great abundance as that the Rivers and Rockes are covered with them in winter. Of fish heere is plentie but especially sturgeon all the summer time, which are in such abundance in the upper parts of the River as that great benefitt might be rayised by setting up a fishing for them. For in the spring & beginning of summer the weather is so temperate that they will keepe very well. Heere are also great store of wild hops yet excellent good and as faire as those in England. Heere are also divers other things which with industrie will growe excellent good commodities; and for my part I am confident that this River is the most healthfull, fruitfull & commodious River in all the north of America to be planted.

Hither also very lately came the Hollanders a second time, sent hither by the Governor of the Dutch Plantation, with a Commission to plant & trade heere; but after much

discourse to & fro, they have publicly declared, that if the King of England please to owne this River, they will obey; and they humbly desire, that he will declare to them their limitts in those parts of America, which they will also observe.

MR. KEMP SECRETARY IN VIRGINIA, TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS FOR FORAIN PLANTACIONS. 17 MAY 1635.

MOST REUERENT AND RIGHT HONOURABLE, — His Majesty was graciously pleased in August last to Conferr vpon mee Vnder the greate seale of England the place of Secretary

Captain Samuel Matthews, the most wealthy and powerful of Sir John Harvey's enemies, in a letter to Sir John Wolstenholme, dated 25th May, 1635, gave an account of the events related in the letter of Secretary Kemp, and stated the following as the causes of the proceedings of himself and his associates, in expelling Governor Harvey from the government and colony: —

"1st, Harvey detained the letter from the Assembly to the king on the subject of the Contract for Tobacco.

"2d, The governor usurped the whole power into his own hands, without any respect to the votes of the Council.

"3d, The governor had reduced the colony to great streights by complying with the Marylanders so far that they being shut out from every place of trade, there could be no trade for corn, contrary to the king's commands, and the wants of Virginia were increased at a time when two thousand new inhabitants had just arrived.

"4th, The governor had made a dangerous peace with the Indians, contrary to the Council's and the country's advice, so that if the Indians were to offer any insult, they could not revenge themselves, the governor having appropriated to his own use the satisfaction made by the Indians for five hundred hogs killed by them.

"5th, The people heard with indignation that the Marylanders had taken Captain Claybourne's pinnace, which they had made prize of; which action Sir John Harvey upheld, contrary to his Majesty's letters."

"Meanwhile, before Harvey's departure, he asks the Secretary, Kemp, for his commission and instructions, — [which were] denied, — and finding that, in case of the death or absence of the governor, the Council may choose one, they had chosen Captain John West, the brother of the late Lord Delaware, an ancient planter. Hopes for some religious, worthy governor (Sir John Zouch, a puritan, wished for), which will make the country flourish. Captain Claybourne had just arrived from Kent Island, which had been attacked by the Marylanders who had slain three, and wounded others, of the inhabitants. They would not have done so without Harvey's instigation. The Council sent Captain Utie and Captain Peirce to Maryland to desire that government to cease such violences; according to their answer, we shall proceed." (Geo. Chalmers's MSS.; Extracts from Am. and W. I. State Papers; Colonial Papers, p. 208, vol. viii. § 65.)

Harvey, on his arrival at Plymouth on the 14th of the following July, wrote to the Secretary, Windebanke, apologizing for returning without a license, and to acquaint him with the outbreak, which had occasioned his absence from his post, and, besides, that since land-

for this Collony. One of his royall commands therein being that I should write and answere all letters both sent to and from the Collony, with charge likewise to exercise

ing he had, with the aid of the Mayor of Plymouth, seized on two of the messengers of the faction, Francis Pott, brother of John, the late governor, and another, whose name is not mentioned (but probably Thomas Harwood), and had detained their letters, which had been in Harwood's keeping. (Chalmers, *ut supra*, Colonial Papers, pp. 212, 213, vol. viii. §§ 72, 73, 74.)

Not long after, he laid before the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, a more detailed narrative of the occurrences attending "the tumults and driving out of the Governor," which, he says, proceeded from the following causes:—

1st, Sir John Wolstenholme had long kept the country in expectation of a change of governor, and the renewing of a corporation, which has much distracted the country.

2d, The mutinous councillors, Matthews, Utie, Peirce, and Claybourne, are the persons who are the contrivers of this outrage, and are the men who have been often complained of as opposing the king's measures, and have raised this storm, hoping to shelter themselves.

3d, The main reason they proceed upon is, Harvey, not sending to the king the Assembly's answer. Secretary Kemp sent a true copy to Secretary Windebanke, and kept the original from a regard to the Council; as, the matter being a denial of the king's proposition, the manner was equally offensive,—being signed by many hands, as a popular business, thinking thereby to give it countenance. *Matthews* is his enemy because the governor assisted Yong on his commission; *Utie's* dislike proceeds from the governor's calling on him for some cattle which belonged to the late company, but now to the king. *Claybourne* is an enemy because the governor had discovered his attempt against Maryland, and had sent a warrant to the papers on the arrival of Kemp, which warrant he kept, and departed the province. *John Pott* (an enemy), for the governor's conduct to him on his arrival, and procuring his pardon, an old grudge. *Francis Pott*, the brother of John, the governor had made Captain of the fort at Point Comfort, but turned out for misdemeanor."

"The names of such men as are to be sent for into England, are: Captain John West; Captain Utie, for arresting the governor; Captain Samuel Matthews, for laying violent hands on the governor; Captain Peirce, for bringing thirty armed men to Jamestown to beset the governor; and Mr. George Minifie, who took possession of the governor's instructions."

"These men also countenanced the Dutch trading in Virginia. Sir John Zouch ought not to be allowed to return into Virginia; for he is of the Puritan sect, and of a factious disposition. These stirs were fomented by him, as he arrived in November, 1634, and immediately consorted with Matthews and the faction; and in December they contrived the complaint against the governor, which the king hath heard, and the faction sent him to England as agent, for which they gave him £500. He probably expected to be governor." (Chalmers's MSS.; Colonial Papers, pp. 201, 208, 212, vol. viii., §§ 61, 74; vol. ix. § 53.)

On the 11th December following, the king and Privy Council entered into an investigation of the recent disturbances in Virginia. The letter of the Council of Virginia to Harvey, dated the 16th of the preceding May, was read. Sir John was asked the cause of his coming back to England, and replied that it was the above-mentioned letter which he received from the Council. The king considered it an assumption of regal power to send hither the governor, but would not punish it too far. Those to be sent for, were the persons who assumed the government, and he who laid hands on the governor. The charges were contained in the Council's letter, or propositions, as Kemp phrases it.

Charge 1st. That he denied to administer the oath of allegiance to those who went thither to plant, as he was obliged by his instructions; and that he is a favorer of the Romish religion. This charge Sir John denied in the general, and said there was nothing particular laid to his charge.

all other functions belonging to the place and office of a Secretary, where by I must Conceive mysef in duty bound to present to your Honours from time to time an

2d. That one Rabnet, of Maryland, having said that it was lawful and meritorious to kill a heretic king, Sir John caused him to be apprehended, and then set at liberty. This being offered to be proved by Mr. Williams, a minister, Sir John could not admit his testimony, because he had married two persons, without a license.

3d. That Lord Baltimore's servants had slain three men in keeping of the entry of Hudson (Potomac?) river that *goes up* to Maryland. To this charge no answer was made. As it stands, it has no reference to Governor Harvey; but Matthews, in his letters to Wolstenholme, ascribes the outrage to Harvey's instigation. (Colonial Papers, p. 209.)

4th. He assumed power to place and to displace at the Council board; and sequestered Mr. Thomas Hinton. This was for ill words given to the governor, and is well answered.

5th. Mr. White, a minister, was silenced by the governor for cursing those of his own parish; and an old man for bringing him drink and white bread is . . . The governor answers, that he could never see any orders, although White had two years' time to show his orders. Canterbury (Laud) said, that no man can be admitted, in any ship, to serve as minister, until he has shown his orders to the Bishop of the diocese.

6th. Has permitted the Dutch to trade, without taking security to bring their commodity to England according to the king's instructions; and that this was permitted to one Constable, a Dutchman. Denied; saith he did deny this Constable to trade, because he had found that he had not landed his goods in England.

7th. That he struck out some of Captain Stevens's teeth with a cudgel; the said Stevens being a councillor of Virginia. — Answered, that it was not in Council, but that Stevens assailed him with ill language.

8th. That he countenanced the Romish religion in Maryland. Mr. Hawley said he was come to plant in Maryland the Romish religion. Utterly denied by Mr. Hawley.

It is said by Sir John Harvey and Mr. Hawley that there is public mass in Maryland.

The result of the investigation was, that Sir John was confirmed in his office, and the Attorney-General was instructed to draw up a new commission for him, with enlarged powers, which was accordingly issued on the 2d of the following April. (Dom. St. Papers, p. 551, 1635, vol. ciii. 1 post, § 15; Col. Papers, p. 216, vol. viii. §§ 80, 84; Id. p. 232, vol. ix. 2 post, § 8.)

In June he apprised Secretary Windebanke, that, owing to the scarcity of money, there were no means in the colony of paying for labor, until the crops came in; and therefore entreated that the king would order farthing-tokens to be sent over and made current there. No notice appears to have been taken of this suggestion. But about three years later, Henry Lord Maltravers obtained a royal license for twenty-one years to stamp farthing tokens of copper for all the foreign plantations, except Maryland. As no actual issue, however, of these tokens is known to us, we may suppose it to have been prevented by the disturbed state of the country. It was not, indeed, until near the close of the year 1645, when the evils of the tobacco currency in Virginia had repeatedly proved intolerable, that the Governor, Council, and Burgesses assumed, and by a formal act authorized, the coinage of farthing-tokens of copper, to displace tobacco as currency. It was at the same time enacted, that Spanish dollars should be current at the rate of six shillings each, and "other Spanish silver quoinés" (coins) "proportionately." (Colonial Papers, p. 238, vol. ix. § 17; Id. p. 290, vol. x. 1639, Feb. 16; I. Hening, p. 308.)

Sir John Harvey, when assured of his restoration, requested that he might return in one of the king's ships. "It would be an honor," he said, "to the king's governor, and check the boldness of the offenders in the colony." He offered to relinquish the £500 always allowed governors for their passage to Virginia; to defray the expense of victuals and wages, if the crew was reduced to fifty or sixty in number. He asked, in return, for the benefit of the freight out and home. He tried to obtain the "Mary Rose," but the Admir-

account of the proceedings and materiall passages heere Soone after my arrivall In December last his Majestyes royall letters came to the hands of the Governour and

alty, disliking to part with good ships, assigned him the prize ship, "Black George," an old vessel, that more than two years before had been surveyed by order, and pronounced serviceable, if repaired, for three years, not at sea, but on the English and Irish coasts, where she could easily take shelter in port from rough weather, that she could not safely encounter on the ocean. In fact, so little seaworthy was this old ship, that, after her lading was all on board, it was found necessary to land her ordnance, cables, anchors, and every thing weighty that belonged to the ship, to search for a dangerous leak; and this search, not being thoroughly made, in consequence of Jerome Hawley refusing to permit his goods to be taken out, when, at last, she left port, she had not proceeded more than twenty leagues to sea, before the certainty of foundering on the passage became so obvious, that she was forced to return to Portsmouth, where she was given up to the officers from whom she had been received. A ship bound to Virginia fortunately afforded him a passage, but he was obliged to leave all his goods and company behind. He had been at great expense in laying in stores and provisions for the crew of fifty, and one hundred passengers besides, of whom twenty were gentlemen of quality. These circumstances were detailed in a petition to the king, in which he besought that some speedy supply might be made him out of the arrears of his salary, in compassion of his great losses. (Chalmers, *ut supra*, Dom. St. Papers, p. 300, 1633, vol. ccli. §§ 30, 251; Colonial Papers, p. 231, vol. ix. §§ 4, 5, 8; p. 233, Id. § 11; p. 241, §§ 25, 26, 27.)

Sir John Harvey landed in Virginia on the 18th of January, 1637, and immediately resumed the reins of government. He first read his new Commission and Instructions to the Council in the church of Elizabeth City; and shortly after published the king's proclamation of pardon to all but persons specially excepted, who had aided or abetted the late proceedings against the governor; appointed sheriffs for Accomack and the lower counties; and summoned a General Assembly for the 20th of February. (Colonial Papers, p. 245, vol. ix. § 38.)

The Assembly met on the appointed day, when there were present Governor Harvey, Secretary Kemp, Sergeant-Major George Donne, Captain Thomas Purifie, Henry Browne, John Hobson, Adam Thorowgood, and Mr. William Brocas, of the Council, together with the Burgesses. An Act, called the twentieth, was passed by this Assembly, for the appointment of an officer to keep a Register of all tobacco and other commodities exported, who should be allowed a fee of twopence per cask for tobacco, and at the same rate for other. This was done in compliance with the king's directions of the 4th of the preceding August. (Colonial Papers, *ut supra*, § 40.)

On the 22d of the following April, the king addressed another letter to the governor and Council of Virginia, in which, among other things, he reminds them that tobacco was almost the only commodity returned from Virginia, and very little advance had been made in staple articles, and that the colony had consequently been brought into great straits. Is informed that they are supplied not only by the Indians, but by the Dutch, who make a prey of their tobacco and the crops of the plantations, to the detriment of the king's duties and profits. All this proceeds from irregular government, improvidence, and covetous, griping dispositions, and endangers the common good of the whole plantation. Having resolved, with the advice of the Privy Council, upon better ordering and regulating the plantation, he desires them to consider what quantity of good and merchantable tobacco they will undertake to send yearly to the port of London, having relation also to more staple and honorable commodities; what price and value they will peremptorily set thereon, and the places most convenient to bring it to, and to warehouse it, and from which it may be carefully shipped, and "a particular" sent in every ship. Jerome Hawley is appointed Treasurer of Virginia, as this is a business that much concerns the king's revenue there. Strictly forbids trade with the Dutch. Requires them to examine every planter,

Counsell which signified that his will and pleasure was to haue the sole pre-emption of all the tobacco issuing from hence. The Answer of the Collony among many other

to take an account how far each one has engaged his stock and crop, upon what debts and to whom, and to make just return to the Lord-Treasurer, that some course may be taken "to redeem these our poor subjects." Commands them to inform every planter, or owner, of the king's resolutions, to show them what helps they have received, to the loss of his Majesty's revenue, by lessening the ordinary duties about one-half, taking off the charge of garbling their tobacco, and now, lately, the impost of that taken from London to foreign parts. If they are resolved to be the authors of their own misery, and refuse, with fitting alacrity and obedience, to answer the king's expectation, his Majesty will advise with the Privy Council to punish the refractory and repair the loss which he sustains for their good. Expects their speedy answer. (Colonial Papers, p. 250, vol. ix. § 47.)

The contract for tobacco proposed in the king's letter could not be effected without the concurrence of the Burgesses; and as they were not called together before the 20th of February, 1638, the king had to wait more than a year, in expectation of "a speedy answer." At last, on the 22d of April following, Governor Harvey wrote to Secretary Windebanke, that the Assembly had passed an Act for regulating both the quality and quantity of tobacco; but had made no progress in regard to the contract, nor had the colony shown any inclination to embrace the proposal, being afraid that it would reduce them all to the hard condition of the Bermudas. The Assembly spent a month in debating, before they concluded to pass only the act above-mentioned, and not to assent to a contract. The documents enclosed in Secretary Kemp's letter of the 6th of April following, to Secretary Windebanke, show that the governor and Council earnestly endeavored to prevail on the Burgesses to comply with the king's wishes. (Colonial Papers, p. 266-68, vol. ix. §§ 89, 90; Id. § 96; Chalmers, *ut supra*.)

A few days after Sir John Harvey had satisfied the king and Privy Council of the injustice of the treatment and accusations to which he had been subjected, he requested that the king would be pleased to give orders that Captain John West, Samuel Matthews, John Utie, and William Peirce, prime actors in the late meeting, should be sent for into England, to answer for their misdemeanors. With the exception of William Peirce, who came to London a little later, but early in 1636, these individuals had remained in Virginia during the whole of Governor Harvey's stay in England. But as they were brought over as prisoners early in the spring of 1637, it seems not unlikely that they were arrested and sent over by Harvey himself, soon after he returned to Virginia. He lost no time in ordering their goods, cattle, and servants to be seized, to await the result of the trials in the Star Chamber. George Menefie, a merchant, who had lived seventeen years in Virginia, and had the estates of many non-resident English proprietors under his charge, was also, at Harvey's instance, summoned from Virginia to answer an information against him, in the Star-Chamber, for having contributed to the warfare against Harvey; and having done so, and having represented to the king that his affairs were suffering by reason of his absence, was permitted, 29th September, 1637, to return home. Similar leave was granted to William Peirce. Each had to give security for £1,000 to appear in the Star Chamber when required. Menefie could not have been considered a very dangerous or implacable enemy; for in the next year Governor Harvey sent, under his charge, and for sale by himself, the tobacco levied for the repair of the fort at Point Comfort. Of Francis Pott and Thomas Harwood nothing more is known than that the former remained in confinement, certainly nearly a year, and was in England as late as 1640, striving, with his confederates, to push on the suit to a speedy decision in the absence of Harvey, by means of a reference to the Lord-Keeper and Attorney-General; and that when the latter came to London, Governor Harvey requested the authorities to restrain him of his liberty, as he was one of the late mutinous assembly. (Chalmers's MSS. Note; Colonial Papers, p. 217, vol. viii. § 84; Id. p. 218, §§ 90, 92; Id. p. 234, vol. ix. § 12; Id. p. 256, § 59; Id. p. 258, §§ 66, 7, 8; Id. p. 268, § 97; Id. p. 314, vol. x. § 78.)

informations I did by the first opportunity of Shipping present in a packet to Mr. Secretary Windebanke.

The necessity of the time againe calls on my duty to

The four others of the accused, West, Matthews, Utie, and Peirce, were by no means inclined to acquiesce in Governor Harvey's seizure of their goods and estates in Virginia. On the arrival of the first three in London, they joined with Peirce in a petition to the Privy Council, stating that they had been lately sent, as prisoners, from Virginia to England, were then on bail, and prayed that their distressed state might be taken into consideration, and orders sent, by a ship ready to sail, to Governor Harvey, requiring him to restore their goods, servants, and cattle, seized by his orders. Their petition was granted; and on the 25th of May, 1637, the Privy Council wrote to the Governor and Council, enclosing the petition, and directing them to restore the property in question to those to whom it had been intrusted by the respective owners; there to remain, until the charges against them were heard and determined by the king or the Privy Council. Harvey complied with this order so far as regarded all but Matthews. In excuse for the exception made in his case, Harvey apparently had alleged that Thomas Hill had possession of Matthews's property under legal process. But Matthews, in the following year, laid a fresh complaint before the Privy Council, which was referred for examination to the sub-committee for foreign plantations. The complaint was, in substance, that Governor Harvey had sequestered his whole estate, which, he said, was "the best in that country." The Privy Council, on the 25th of July, 1638, issued an order to the Governor and Council, founded on the sub-committee's report, which was enclosed, requiring them to put in execution the former order of May 25th, 1637, and declaring, at the same time, that the proceedings of Thomas Hill, or any others in Virginia, against Matthews, were unwarrantable, and ought to be recalled and vacated. This was executed as to the personal property of Matthews. The Governor and Council, on the 18th of the following January, wrote to the Privy Council that, in accordance with the orders of the Council, they had caused all Matthews's servants, cattle, and goods, to be restored. They justified their conduct, finding themselves "charged with disobedient and illegal, harsh and severe proceedings against Captain Matthews." But in the meantime, on the 29th of the preceding November, the Privy Council modified this order by directing the Governor and Council to deliver the *goods and cattle*, belonging to Matthews's estate, to the agents of John Woodall, of London, surgeon, which was accordingly done by order of the Governor and Council. In announcing to Secretary Windebanke their compliance with the original order, they said they "had heard with grief of the many complaints exhibited to the Privy Council, which caused their lordships' high displeasure against them," and begged that their answers might be read before the lords themselves and not be referred to the sub-committee, against some of whom they might justly take exception. Thomas Hill made an ineffectual appeal to the Privy Council against Matthews. The same sub-committee, in July, reported against his claim, and asserted that a considerable and valuable portion of Matthews's estate was still detained, notwithstanding the Council's order of the 25th of the preceding July. But before the appeal of Governor Harvey and the Council to the clemency of the Privy Council was penned, he had been superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt. (Colonial Papers, p. 252, 253, vol. ix. § 53; Id. p. 281 § 121; Id. p. 286, § 3; Id. p. 288, 289, vol. x. §§ 6, 8; Id. p. 291, § 14; Id. p. 299, § 26.)

Chalmers, in his notes, says that Matthews's estate was worth £60,000, and that Harvey sequestered it on frivolous pretences; and, moreover, made imprudent speeches, that "if he stood, Matthews must fall," &c. He considers, also, that Harvey was removed for disobeying the orders of the Privy Council to restore Matthews's property. That this was alleged as a ground of his removal, there can be little doubt. He was not in favor with the sub-committee, which, in those days, virtually controlled all things relating to Virginia, and would gladly give his conduct the stigma of disobedience, if possible. He certainly did not immediately comply with the order of the 25th of May, 1637, so far as Matthews was concerned, but the property of all the other three was promptly restored, to the respective

give your honours a true and perfect relation (according to the trust imposed on mee) of the late distempers heere. There came notice one night late about the 27th of Aprill

owners, and the reasons for deferring the restoration of that of Matthews were explained to the Privy Council, in the hope of their approval; but when the Council signified, by a second order, that they were not satisfactory, Harvey appears to have lost no time in fully performing all that in terms had been required of him. (Chalmers's MS. Notes; Colonial Papers, p. 281, vol. ix. § 121; p. 288, vol. x. §§ 6, 8.)

Other circumstances contributed to the removal of Governor Harvey. As soon as he got possession of the "Black George," and a portion of the arrears of his salary, that enabled him to freight her in part with goods of his own, besides those of other shippers, leaving the charge of ship, goods, and passengers entirely to Jerome Hawley, he absented himself from Portsmouth, and for three months neither the Secretary Windebanke, who sought to communicate with him on official business, nor Lord Wimbledon, the Governor of Portsmouth, to whom Windebanke's letters for Harvey were sent, nor Smith, the captain of the "Black George," nor any other of his people, knew where to find him. Although the "Black George" had for years been considered a "crazy old ship," and had been employed merely in the coast service, where she could easily run into port in bad weather, yet no survey, or even inquiry, appears to have been made, when Harvey received her; and when, three months after, it was found necessary to land all her heavy armament and equipment, in order to discover and stop a dangerous leak, Hawley prevented a proper, thorough search being made, by refusing to allow the goods on board to be disturbed. For all this negligence and imprudence, Harvey was justly responsible. His protracted absence, long after his ship was ready to sail, but was unnecessarily kept in port, at a heavy expense for wages and also for the provisions consumed by one hundred passengers, and fifty men of the crew, was represented to Windebanke by Lord Wimbledon, in no favorable light. The Privy Council was also troubled with claims made against him by creditors for the payment of debts of long standing, and with claims founded on his own losses, in consequence of the unseaworthy condition and consequent abandonment of the "Black George." The Privy Council's disinclination to lighten his troubles, amounted to injustice. The king, in compliance with Harvey's petition, had decided that, in consideration of his relinquishing the £500 usually allowed for a governor's passage to Virginia, and charging himself with the wages and victuals of the ship, he should have the benefit of her freight out and home. But after it became clear that the ship with which he had been supplied was utterly unfit for a sea voyage, and no freight consequently could be carried, the Privy Council, disregarding the king's warrant, as well as the great losses thrown upon Harvey by the misadventure, ordered him to pay the wages of the captain, officers, and crew. At the same time, as if to avoid the appearance of oppression, the Council ordered "as just and reasonable," that "those who sent him to England should repay the same." To this order, after it was signed and sealed, Nicholas added, "when they should be convicted of their presumption." This, at best, left Harvey only a distant and contingent remedy, but in fact made the saving clause perfectly nugatory. For the Star Chamber itself was abolished before the information against them, there pending, came to trial. (Colonial Papers, p. 218, vol. viii., § 92; p. 225, vol. ix., § 6; p. 231, § 8; pp. 239, 240; post, § 20; p. 241, §§ 25, 26, 27, 28, 30; III. Rushworth, p. 1393.)

Resentment for old injuries, and a hope of sharing in the forfeiture, or fines, which threatened Matthews's large estate, might have made Governor Harvey reluctant to give up all control over it; and he might naturally have deferred doing so, because he expected, from day to day, to hear that sentence had been passed upon Matthews for his treasonable conduct. If such delay were even accounted positive disobedience, Harvey would still only have done what Harvey's communications and Captain Yong's letter (*supra*, pp. 107, 108) prove Matthews to have been in the constant habit of doing, or counselling to be done, whenever a royal command was laid before the Colonial Council. Harvey, on the other

last to Sir John Harvey the Governour and my selfe to James towne of a multitude of people that day gathered together in a place called Yorke, at the house of one

hand, invariably labored with the utmost zeal to carry into effect every injunction of his sovereign, at the inevitable sacrifice of the favor and good-will of the colonists, and notwithstanding he, at the same time, by being kept out of his salary, was reduced to a miserable indigence, that embittered his life and impaired the dignity and authority of his office. (Colonial Papers, p. 276, vol. ix. § 114.)

All the adversaries of Governor Harvey, who had conspired against him in Virginia had in England friends and connections anxious to make every effort to extricate them from the hands of justice; and, to this end, intrigues were set on foot to aggravate all old charges made against him, and to frame new ones, to effect his disgrace and removal. In the last hours of his administration, he complained to the Privy Council of the insolencies of the masters of ships, who were instigated by those who sought to displace him; and likewise, that spies, as he was credibly informed, were employed, all over London, to entice planters newly arrived, into taverns, and, plying them with wine, to "drain from them some matter of grievance, which was straightway written down, and the party thus ensnared to justify a complaint without a cause." In this way petitions were got up, signed by obscure men, affecting to act on behalf of the body of Virginia planters, in which Governor Harvey was arraigned as the author of unjust and oppressive innovations, which, when taken to task by the Privy Council, he showed to be regulations of long standing, established by the king's command, or by the General Assembly, at the instance of the king. (Colonial Papers, p. 287, 288, vol. x. § 5.)

Of these enemies of Governor Harvey, Captain Samuel Matthews was the most sagacious and resolute. He was also the more formidable because he was ably seconded by his friend and correspondent, Sir John Wolstenholme, who, very early in the administration of Governor Harvey, had disturbed the colony by repeated reports of an approaching change of the colonial government and rulers. Having been one of the Supreme Council of the Virginia Company from the date of its charter of 1609 until its dissolution, next a member of the Mandeville Commission of 1624, and lastly, of the Council of Superintendence of 1632, under the Earl of Dorset, he was thoroughly conversant with all the civil and commercial affairs of the colony. His wealth, intelligence, and mercantile standing, made it easy to turn this knowledge to his own great personal advantage. From the beginning of 1608, and, perhaps, much earlier, he had been a farmer of the customs, and also, collector of subsidies, tonnage, and poundage, and of taxes recently imposed. In 1619 he obtained a grant with survivorship to John Wolstenholme — probably his son — which converted these contingent benefits into an indefeasible property for two lives. This namesake was afterwards an original member of Lord Dorset's Council of Superintendence. Sir John shared largely in the management and profits of the Magazine, as long as that society for trade, formed within the body of the company, was kept up. While it lasted, its main purpose was to give to the adventurers, and the company itself, always the greatest adventurer in the Magazine, a monopoly of the Virginia trade. Sir John, as farmer and collector, had it in his power to detain such goods as were imported by private persons, until all those of the adventurers and company were sold; and, on one occasion, he required a Captain John Bargrave to give one hundred pounds of tobacco, and also a written obligation to pay one hundred pounds to Sir Thomas Smyth, the Treasurer, before he would consent to release three thousand pounds of tobacco on payment of duty. The Lord Keeper's decree was in favor of Bargrave. About the same period, Abraham Jacob, a friend of Sir John, but not of the company, in the exercise of his office as farmer of the impost on tobacco, had the presumption to seize the whole year's import of Virginia tobacco, to enforce the payment of sixpence a pound over and above the legal duty. The Privy Council compelled Jacob to deliver the tobacco to the company, on payment of the regular dues. In 1630, Samuel Vassal, the well-known friend of Massachusetts, made a similar charge of extortion against

Will^m Warren, the chiefe speakers among them were observed to be these, Captain Martian, Francis Pott and Will^m English the then sherife of that County, the in-

Sir John Wolstenholme, and told him by letter, that, rather than pay the duty pretended he would lose all his tobacco. The next year the Crown granted to Sir Paul Pindar, Sir John Wolstenholme, Abraham Dawes, and John Jacob, son of the above-mentioned Abraham Jacob, the farm of the general customs and subsidies for one year, from the twenty-fourth of the following December, at the rent of £150,000, allowance to be made out of the rent of £20,000, previously advanced by the lessees, with interest at eight per cent. A few days later a further advance was made of £10,000, and it was then stipulated, that, if they advanced more than the rent could bear, the lessees should keep possession till reimbursed. As the poverty of Charles's exchequer made such advances inevitable, this adroit proviso changed the lease of the farmers into a virtual perpetuity, depending solely on their own will. The dexterity of the farmers in bargaining was exemplified by an instance in which Sir John Wolstenholme bore a part, that occurred about seventeen years earlier, in the reign of James. He and his partners held a grant for French wines, of which the quantity imported, and, of course, the farmers' profits, had very largely increased, after the twelve years' truce in 1609, between Spain and the United Provinces, had given greater freedom to commerce. The cupidity of competitors multiplied offers of higher rent, and imputations of fraud were brought forward to destroy the patent. Sir John, with his partners, Francis Jones, William Garway, and Nicholas Salter, represented to the king that they had proved themselves free from all fraud, and, though they knew their patent to be good in law, they had authorized Viscount Rochester (the royal favorite of the day) to offer an increase of £3,000 in their rent. But shortly after, finding this offer ineffectual, they made another, in which, reasserting their knowledge of the validity of their patent, they professed to be willing to offer for its confirmation £16,000 in money; or, £12,000 in money, with £2,000 increase of rent; or, lastly, £5,000 increase of rent; i. e., £2,000 more than their first offer. As the patent could not legally be taken away and given to those who offered more, the ready money was probably accepted as a fair equivalent for graciously allowing the patentees to remain undisturbed in the possession of their own rights. A few years later, nearly the same parties obtained grants of the Sweet and of the Rhenish wines, for periods, respectively, of eight and nine years, and of all customs on wines for eight years. (Dom. St. Papers, 1608, p. 206, vol. xxxi. § 41; p. 449, vol. xxxv. § 31; Id. 1631, p. 512, vol. cxxxv. § 22; Id. 1613, p. 490, vol. lxxii. §§ 2, 6, 7; Id. 1619, p. 82, vol. cx. § 63; Id. p. 101, vol. cxii. § 1.)

The farmers of the general customs and subsidies, as well as those of particular and separate branches of the revenue, were in general called the Customers. They were few in number; but, being either partners in interest, or by the necessity and advantage of constant concert and mutual aid in collecting and distributing their respective shares of the revenue, they became a strong and harmonious fraternity. It may be observed that the different sorts of taxes, on a single article, would, at times, be farmed by as many different parties; while the collection of the whole would be in the hands of another party. They were, in a measure, constrained to act together, and, by parity of interest, for the benefit and protection of each other. In the joint prosecution, for a quarter of a century, of their financial labors, they had acquired wealth, with the public consideration and influence which wealth commands; and, moreover, an intimate and exact knowledge of the financial and commercial concerns of the country. They were consulted by the Privy Council on measures of commercial policy, were employed in commissions for investigating and adjusting confused and entangled estates and accounts of deceased disbursing officers, of public defaulters, and, as in the instance of the Caribbee Islands, for remedying the abuses and disorder of misgoverned and half-ruined colonies. Their wealth enabled each one to purchase rank and the favor of their sovereign by paying a thousand pounds for the honor and dignity of knighthood. Sir John Wolstenholme, to gain the favor and support of the prime

formers of it testified that they offered to enter the house but a servant meeting them, tould them they must not goe in, for there was a Court kept there of the inhabitants

minister, as well as his royal master's, built, at his own expense, a new church at Great Stanmore, in Middlesex, which Laud had the gratification of consecrating in his own fashion with his novel ceremonies, invocations, and pious anathemas. (Dom. St. Papers, 1620, 1621, p. 157, vol. cxv. § 111; p. 211, vol. cxix. § 142; 1630, p. 349, vol. clxxiii. § 76; Id. 1632, p. 289, vol. ccxiv. post, § 45; II. Rushworth, p. 139; Hume's Eng., Chap. 51.)

Lord Goring's position and personal interest made him, almost necessarily, one of the corps of Farmers, and contributed essentially to its strength and influence. His discretion and fitness were so highly esteemed by the Solicitor-General, Sir Robert Heath, afterwards Chief Justice, that, when the latter was ordered by King James, immediately after the dissolution of the Virginia Company, to draw up a contract with the planters for all their tobacco, he employed Sir George Goring to conciliate the favor and aid of Buckingham in "a work," as he said, "both honorable and profitable, if well managed." Sir George acquitted himself so well, as to gain the confidence and good-will of Buckingham; and, four years after, through his influence, to be made Baron Lord Goring, and Master of Horse to the Queen. Three years later, the king conferred on him for life the places of Secretary, Clerk of the Council, and Clerk of the Signet in Wales. He was sole patentee of the licenses for dealing in wines, but was in various ways connected with the farmers, especially of the internal revenue. He shared with Abraham Dawes in the profits of two patents, — one for penal fines, and the other, for the penalties annexed to engrossing and illegally exporting butter. Dawes and John Jacob were interested with him as farmers of the licenses for the portage of tobacco and dealing in it. In 1635 he proposed that the king should have the sole pre-emption of tobacco; and, the year after, offered £10,000 the first year, and £20,000 per annum afterwards, over and above the existing revenue, if the king, at the same time, would insure him the same sole pre-emption. But although Harvey strove, with all his zeal and influence, to procure for the king this pre-emption, he could never prevail on the Burgesses to surrender their right to trade freely in the only article which furnished them with clothing and other necessities of life. Of course, he was regarded by Lord Goring, intensely selfish as he was, if Clarendon is to be believed, as an obstacle, and not an ally. As Lord Goring, according to Chalmers, was at the head of the Sub-committee of Plantations, which, probably, was mainly composed of the Farmers or Customers, who followed the lead of himself and Sir John Wolstenholme, they found it expedient to combine their efforts for his removal and ruin. Sir John Wolstenholme, and all the members of Lord Dorset's commission, had recommended to the king the renewal of the ancient Charter and Company. He and others longed for the old Magazine, the old monopoly of exports and imports of Virginia, and the sole right of supplying the colony with all it needed at thrice its price in England, and of receiving in payment tobacco at prices sometimes reduced as low as one penny the pound. Even the king assented to this proposal, which necessarily involved the removal of Harvey, and it would have been carried into effect but for the earnest remonstrances of the dying Lord Baltimore, backed by the influence of the queen, and his own reluctance to offend his privy counsellor, the Earl of Arundel, the father-in-law of Cecil, Lord Baltimore's son and heir. The resentment of Sir John Wolstenholme was, very naturally, if not most justly, roused by Harvey's tamely abetting the violence of the Marylanders in seizing Claybourne's trading vessel, the "Longtail," and slaying Lieutenant Warren, the commander, and two of the crew of the vessel sent to rescue her. Sir John was one of the partners in the Kent Island enterprise, and in November, 1633, with Claybourne and other Virginia planters, joined in a petition to the Privy Council stating that they had been at great expense in settling the island, and prayed to be allowed to retain it and enjoy free trade, and that it might no longer be included in the patent of Lord Baltimore. Three months previous he had, together with his friend Abraham Dawes, and others of the Virginia Commissioners, urged the Privy Council to renew the ancient

there aboute. Wherevpon they desisted, and bended themselves to harken to the discourse among them, when a writing was read by Francis Pott subscribed by many dwell-

charter of Virginia, as requested by the planters; and, if successful, he would have secured Kent Island, and very quietly have got rid of Lord Baltimore and Governor Harvey. The latter was aware of the animosity of the farmers of the customs, and, learning that they intended to exhibit a complaint to the king against him for the bad quality of the tobacco sent to London the preceding year, wrote to Secretary Windebanke that most of it had been shipped before he returned to the colony, and expressed a hope that the Assembly would provide against "the like badness in future, by erecting storehouses in each county, where all tobacco might be brought and inspected." (Colonial Papers, p. 69, vol. III. §§ 22, 23; Dom. St. Papers, p. 218, vol. cx. § 31; Id. pp. 553-55, vol. clxxxvii. § ; Id. p. 345, vol. ccxviii. § 9; Id. p. 102, vol. cccclxxvii. § 31; Id. p. 163; Colonial Papers, Index, p. 564; Dom. St. Papers, p. 513, vol. ccxxiii. § 49; Id. p. 551, vol. ccxxvi. § 6; Clarendon, B. viii. p. 555; Colonial Papers, p. 136, vol. vi. §§ 30, 31, 36; Id. p. 184, vol. viii. § 22; II. Force, Tract IX., Virginia and Maryland, p. 22; Colonial Papers, pp. 171, 172, vol. vi. §§ 80, 87; Id. p. 262, vol. ix. § 82.)

Harvey's enemies were not satisfied with the harvest they had made in England of complaints against him. Kemp wrote to the Privy Council that the Governor and Council of the Colony "were much disheartened that the sub-committee should follow in the same strain" (of complaint), "and were informed that the chiefest of those sub-committees, together with Captain Matthews, had invited divers of the plantation to complain against the Governor and Council." Harvey's position was difficult and disadvantageous, as it gave him only a choice of evils. The king required him to give Lord Baltimore's plantation his "friendly help and assistance," and he was most loyally disposed to obey every command of his sovereign. Besides, he knew that if he failed to do so he would probably lose his office and the four thousand pounds arrear of salary due him. But no command could have been more unwelcome or offensive to the community of Virginia, where the Marylanders were almost universally looked upon as intruders upon the colonial territory, and as implacable foes to their religion. Every favor shown them by Harvey spread over the commonalty the enmity which had previously been chiefly confined to the Council. The government itself inflamed still more the popular discontent, on the return of Harvey to his post, by appointing two Catholics, Robert Evelin and Jerome Hawley, to office in the colony, and requiring, at the same time, that they should be admitted as members of the Council. We do not find, however, any record of their attendance at the board. A grant of land also made to Lord Maltravers, the Catholic brother-in-law of Lord Baltimore, could not fail to be obnoxious to the colony; and Harvey had to encounter much censure for locating the grant, in obedience to the command of his sovereign. Beverley says, that "several large defalcations from Virginia," — meaning land grants, — "occasioned by the precedent of Lord Baltimore, were forwarded and assisted by the contrivance of the Governor, Sir John Harvey. Insomuch that not only the land itself, quit-rents and all, but the authorities and jurisdictions that belonged to that colony were given away; nay, sometimes in their grants he included the very settlements that had been before made." Upon what authority Beverley founded these accusations, we have failed to discover. That they are random assertions, repetitions of the idle gossip of a later period, we are led to believe, from the fact that they are not even alluded to in the letter of his enemies, the self-styled Council of Virginia, read before the king and Council, as stated previously in this note, which unquestionably contained all they had to say against Harvey, and would not have passed over, without notice, a crime, if actually committed, of so grave a nature as embezzlement and robbery of the king's property. Beside the grant to Lord Maltravers, we know of none of any importance except that of seven thousand acres of land which Captain William Button, on his own solicitation, was authorized by the Privy Council, in consideration of alleged services to the Plantation, to select on either side of the river Appomattox. With this grant,

ing in other parts of the Country the effect of it as much as they could collect at that distance where they stood a tax of the Gouverneur, some particulars being expressed,

Harvey had no other connection than to see that the order of the Privy Council was executed. When Captain Button embarked for England in February, 1633, Governor Harvey sent to the Privy Council by him, a sample of saltpetre, one of the staple articles which the king was extremely anxious to have produced in the colony; and also recommended him to the Council as able to give them a good account of the colony. Harvey's confidence in Button, which gained him also that of the Council, was misplaced and treacherously abused. Button was the agent and associate of the men in Virginia who were bent on Harvey's ruin. To serve their purposes and his own, he addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Plantations a petition, in which, describing himself as employed by the Planters of Virginia, he prayed that letters might be sent to Virginia to assure the Planters that they should again be incorporated, and enjoy their estates and privileges as before their patent was recalled. This was a plan for the removal of Governor Harvey, as one of the purposes in view. At a later period, about two months before Sir John Harvey was forced out of his government by the conspirators, Button accompanied their agent, Sir John Zouch, when they both hurried away with the letters of Matthews, the chief of the faction, to Wolstenholme, to set on foot, in England, intrigues against Harvey, to help on the plot going forward in Virginia.

The enmity of the leading men in Virginia to Governor Harvey may be ascribed to his endeavors, soon after his arrival at the seat of his government in 1630, to execute the king's order to discover and punish the parties concerned in the ill treatment that William Capps, on his special service, had experienced there. (*Colonial Papers*, p. 116, vol. v. § 93, l.)

The king, in the fervor of his zeal for the production of staple articles in the colony, had, in 1627, written a letter to the Governor and Council, in which they were "not only recommended, but commanded, to take especial care in the making of pitch, tar, pipe-staves, soap-ashes, potashes, iron, and bay salt, to search for rich mines, and to plant vines." William Capps, the bearer, was appointed to confer with them thereon. So earnest was the king in the prosecution of his cherished designs, that he required the Attorney-General, Heath, to follow up his order with a body of particular instructions concerning tobacco and staple commodities. William Capps arrived in James City with the king's letter, on the 22d of February, 1628. In the mean time, Governor Yeardley had died, and Captain Francis West, early in the preceding November, had been elected to succeed him. Five days after Capps arrived, the Governor and Council wrote to the Attorney-General that "they wanted, not the will, but the means, to raise staple commodities." On the 26th of March, four or five days before Governor West left Virginia to return to England, he, with the Council and Burgesses in General Assembly, gave an answer to the king's letter, in which they maintained, that, in existing circumstances, it would be either inexpedient, unprofitable, or impracticable for the colony to attempt to produce the staple articles commanded by his Majesty. But they promised to "assist Capps in his experiments for bay salt." (I. Hening, pp. 134, 145, 154; *Colonial Papers*, p. 86, vol. iv. §§ 32, 33, 34; pp. 88-90, §§ 40, 44, 45, 46.)

Capps occupied himself in his experiments and other concerns of his agency for nearly a year. On the 20th of February, 1629, he made a written application to Governor Pott for permission to leave Virginia; being, as he said, expressly commanded to return and make a report of the result of his mission. This permission was not only withheld, but orders were issued forbidding his departure. He managed, however, to effect his escape; and, on the 2d of the following November, at Elizabeth City, Governor Pott and Captain Samuel Matthews took the examinations of Captain Thomas Purfrey, Lieutenant Edwards, and George Downes, to ascertain by whose aid William Capps had been "carried out of the country, contrary to the orders of the Governor and Council." (*Colonial Papers*, p. 96, vol. v. § 4, p. 102, § 32.)

Proceedings so disrespectful and almost defiant of the royal authority, would naturally

and something in the Conclusion which they lives and estates should make good But what they Knew not, after the reading whereof Francis Pott demanded theyre appro-

excite the king's indignation. Accordingly, in August, when he knew only what Capps had to tell, he directed the Attorney-General to draw up a letter to Governor Sir John Harvey, who was still in London, "especially charging him, on his arrival in Virginia, to call for those instructions, formerly sent by William Capps, to take an exact account of what had been done therein, and to examine into the many complaints of many notable oppressions done there, especially to the said William Capps. If any of the Council should fall out to be the offenders, he was to proceed the more roundly against them, their offence being of the worst example." (Colonial Papers, p. 117, vol. v. § 93, I.)

On the 29th of May, 1630, Sir John Harvey wrote to the Secretary of State, Lord Dorchester, and to the Privy Council. For the instructions sent by Capps, the Secretary was referred to letters which had been sent to the late Earl of Marlborough, when Lord High Treasurer, which probably would explain what had been done in regard to them, and other information the king might obtain from the late governor, Captain West, Captain Claybourne, the Secretary, and William Tucker, one of the Council of the colony, who were then all in England. In these communications, he alludes to the many grievous complaints against Dr. Pott, "elected governor after Captain West's departure for England." (We must pause here for a moment to observe that the precise date of Pott's election is quite doubtful. Governor West, with Council and Burgesses in Assembly, signed their answer to the king on the 26th, and, with the Council, on the 30th, two official letters; and yet, in Henning, we find two commissions, or proclamations rather, with the seal of the colony affixed, signed by John Pott, as Governor and Captain-General, on the 20th of March.) Harvey further states, that he had confined Pott to his plantation at Harrope (Williamsburg), to answer charges of pardoning Edward Wallis, condemned for wilful murder, and of reinvesting the murderer with his estate, after a legal condemnation. Henning gives an account of another charge against Pott, of stealing cattle, for which he was tried and convicted by thirteen jurors, three of whom were councillors. The court, however, of which Governor Harvey was the presiding judge, in regard of the quality and practice (medical) of Pott, ordered judgment to be respite till the king's pleasure should be known, and all the Council became security for Pott. A week later, Harvey addressed a petition to the king, in which, after setting forth the recommendation of the Council in favor of Dr. John Pott, who, having been found guilty of divers capital offences, had incurred the forfeiture of his estate to his Majesty, he prayed that, in consideration of the long residence of Pott in the colony, his penitence, and the value of his services, he might be pardoned, and his estate be restored to him. This petition was enclosed in a letter to Secretary Lord Dorchester, who was entreated to give it furtherance; but, from some unknown cause, it did not reach his hands till the 9th of February, nearly seven months after its date. In the mean time Mrs. Pott, impelled by affection and painful anxiety, lost not a moment in crossing the ocean to implore the king to pardon her husband, and in her petition, laid before the Privy Council by the brother of Dr. Pott, she alleged that the Commissioners for Virginia had examined the case "in the hearing of Richard Yape, an agent sent over by Governor Sir John Harvey," and found no proof to justify the proceedings against his life or estate. The Privy Council, on the 30th of September, sent forward Mrs. Pott's petition to the Governor and Council in Virginia, requiring them to take it into consideration, and give Dr. Pott a full hearing on the charges preferred against him. Her petition, after its return by the Virginia Council, was submitted anew, together with that of Sir John Harvey, to the Commissioners for Virginia. In their report to the king, they said that they were "not able to give a perfect account of Dr. Pott's business, the records of the proceedings not having been sent over; but, upon this superficial hearing, were of opinion, that condemning him for felony was very rigorous, if not erroneous. They recommended that he should be restored to liberty and his estate upon caution to follow his profession. About a month before this

bation, to which they all affirmed and subscribed, many speeches (we were informed) were at that time used by Captain Martian and English all inveighing against the

report was made, the king had already written to Governor Harvey, that, in consideration of Dr. Pott's penitence and the necessity of his services, he being the only physician in the colony, he had been pleased to pardon and restore him to his estates. Two days after, on the 27th July, 1631, Lord Dorchester, in a letter to the Governor, states that this was done at Sir John's instance. For this interposition and for his previous lenity and forbearance in submitting the sentence of the court to the revision of the king neither Dr. Pott nor any of his family ever showed the slightest sense of gratitude. (Colonial Papers, pp. 116, 117, 118, 121, vol. v. §§ 93, 94, 95, 98, 108; I. Hening, pp. 132-136, 145, 146.)

Dr. Pott came out with Sir Francis Wyatt, in 1621, as physician to the colony and a member of the Council. He had been recommended to the Treasurer and Company by Doctor Gulstone, a distinguished practitioner and patron of the medical profession. He was liberally educated, a master of arts, "well-practised in surgery & Physic, and expert in distilling of waters in many other ingenious devices." As one of Governor Wyatt's council, he shared in the common prejudice of the Colonial Government against Harvey and his colleague Pory, when they came out as commissioners in 1624. He must have had other and personal reasons for his hostility, if he had learned, as was possible, from Sir Francis Wyatt, or Sir George Yeardley, that his name, for a time, had been struck off the roll of the Council at the suggestion of the Earl of Warwick, on the ground that, having been chief actor in the attempt to poison Opechaucano and other Indians mentioned in Harvey's report (*supra*, p. 70), — which, according to other accounts, took place at a meeting for peace, caused the death of many savages and was much blamed, — he was unfit to be employed by the State in any business. As Harvey's colleague, Pory, was complimented by Secretary Conway for his diligence and attention in excluding Pott from the Council, Harvey himself, being at the time in London, might very plausibly have been accused of having a hand in it. (Stith, App., p. 33; Neil, Virg. Company, p. 221; Colonial Papers, p. 69, vol. iii. § 25.)

The liberal provisions for the support of the colony physician, together with his civil appointment, placed Dr. Pott in a condition of comparative affluence, as well as of high respectability and influence, that was flattering to his pride. To find himself suddenly stripped of all these, and, after having occupied the highest place of dignity and power in the State, to be compelled to expose himself to the public gaze, as a criminal at the bar of justice, must have produced a deep mortification, that could not be healed by a pardon that did not restore him to his old seat in the Council. When the wife and the brother of Dr. Pott sought a pardon, they shunned the assistance of Governor Harvey, and all concert with him. The resentment engendered by the prosecution of the Doctor and the dismissal of his brother Francis from command at Point Comfort remained from first to last unchanged, either by Harvey's forbearance at the trials, or his subsequent exertions in favor of Dr. Pott. In the ordinary routine of his calling, the latter had ample opportunity for canvassing every member of the small community of two or three thousand persons; and the nature of his duties gave him much influence over their sentiments and opinions. That he made the most of these advantages to the prejudice of the ostensible author of his alleged wrongs, was placed beyond doubt by the conspicuous part which he, as well as his brother, took in the final outbreak, that thrust Sir John Harvey out of the Government.

Captain Matthews, although, as adviser and coadjutor, deeply implicated in the oppressions which the King had required Governor Harvey to search out and punish, yet kept up the appearance of friendly relations with the Governor, who, in turn, took pains to obtain from the king a boon that would be very lucrative for Matthews. The first Assembly under Sir John Harvey's administration had engaged to pay Matthews 103,000 pounds of tobacco for a fort at Point Comfort, that he had undertaken to build. But as, in the actual state of the tobacco-market, he would lose by his contract, Governor Harvey petitioned the

Governour and Government these speeches were distinctly heard, That noe Justice was done, that the Gouvernour would bring a second massacre among them, and among

King to exempt him, for one or two years, from the customs on his own tobacco gained by his own industry. This would have yielded a huge profit. He commended Matthews as a councillor of long standing, and one of those deserving planters whom the King had promised to reward. To give weight to his application, he enclosed a copy of the King's letter, declaring such to be his intention. The result of this application is not known, but, in the poverty of the Exchequer, it may be presumed to have been fruitless: and Matthews was saved from loss, shortly after, by an act of the Assembly, which required that "half a bushel of corn for each tithable person should be paid to Captain Matthews with the tobacco." If Governor Harvey expected the gratitude of Captain Matthews for this endeavor to render him an important service, he was doomed to be greatly disappointed. Within a year the Governor complained to the Secretary, Lord Dorchester, of "the miserable state in which he lived through the waywardness and opposition of the Council, — in which" he said, "he could discover nothing but factions seeking to gain their own ends." The leader of this opposition was Matthews. His wealth, social standing, and long service in the council gave him a predominating influence there and in every other department of the colony. Outside of the council, he had all the aid and counsel which his neighbor and ally, Doctor Pott, the bitterest enemy of Governor Harvey, could give him. Pott's alliance was not unrewarded. An approval in the nature of an appropriation for Matthews's compensation for the Fort was repeated three times in acts of successive Assemblies; and in the two last, both of 1632, was accompanied with an appropriation of 3400 pounds of tobacco in favor of Doctor Pott, for which he was to render an account. In the next Assembly, an act was passed for the joint benefit of Matthews and Pott, to encourage the speedy settlement of all the land in the vicinity of their respective residences at Harrope and adjoining county of Warwick. The settlers were to have each fifty acres of land, and to be free from all taxes and public charges. (Colonial Papers, p. 116; vol. v. § 94; p. 129, vol. vi. § 11; I. Hening, pp. 150, 171, 196, 208.)

These legislative favors, made still more profitable by the extraordinary influx of 1200 immigrants in 1633, were obtained by Pott and Matthews during an interval of comparative harmony between the Governor and his opponents in the Council. This political calm had been ushered in by an "accord," as it was termed, in which the Governor and the whole Council, under their several signatures, pledged themselves to put an end to those "unhappy differences, which had interrupted all good proceedings." Previously, Matthews had on his side more than three-fourths of the Councillors, while the Governor, not being able to count upon the support of more than two votes, could not carry out either the injunctions of the King, or his own views, if disapproved of by Matthews. But after the "accord," for more than two years, the affairs of the Colony appear to have been prosperously, as well as amicably conducted. Harvey's cherished plans, for fortifications, for continuing the General Assembly, for establishing and providing for the maintenance of a resident clergy, and for procuring from the King an express confirmation of the rights and privileges of the planters, were substantially accomplished. In obedience to the King's command, the excessive production of tobacco was much restrained, and the cultivation of corn so much increased, as to furnish a surplus, in 1633, of 5000 bushels, and in 1634, of 10,000 for export to New England. Regulations, very creditable to the legislation of the Colony, were enacted for the protection of the planters in their dealings with the importers, against forestalling, demanding exorbitant prices for articles of necessity, and refusing to receive tobacco in return, at its fair price, or to be shipped for export, except at a ruinously high rate of freight. The Indians were reconciled and amicable. Strong palisades for the safe range of cattle, inclosing a territory nearly as large as Kent in England, were erected. The population of the Colony had doubled in five years, and in the spring of 1635 exceeded 5000. (Colonial Papers, p. 138, vol. vi. § 34, p. 160, § 73, p. 175; vol. viii. § 3; supra, pp. 209-10; Colonial Papers, p. 154, vol. viii. § 22, p. 201, § 55; I. Hening, pp. 194, 210.)

other motives which were used to persuade the people to subscribe Pots told them that some of the Counsell had a hand in it. The next morning after this information

Governor Harvey and the Council joined in laying before the Privy Council proofs of this flourishing condition of the Colony. Upon the application of William Claybourne, Counsellor and Secretary of State, the Governor and Council concurred in declaring, that "they knew no reason why they should give up their *right* to the Isle of Kent, which they asserted they were *bound to maintain*." (Colonial Papers, p. 176, vol. viii. § 4.)

This harmony might have remained undisturbed, but for the establishment of Lord Baltimore's Catholic Province, within the original limits of the Colony of Virginia, and the unwelcome prospect of another similar establishment on the borders of Maryland, for which Captain Yong was sent out to prepare the way.

In July, 1634, Governor Harvey wrote to Windebanke that he "met with great opposition from his assistants." The immediate occasion for this complaint was, that Captain Matthews had disputed the Governor's construction of Captain Yong's commission, and denied his authority to allow a planter's man, a shipwright, to work in setting up Yong's shallop. Before this, however, Governor Harvey had drawn upon himself the indignation of the Council and Colony by abandoning the stand he had taken with the Council in respect to the right to the Isle of Kent, and by going over to the side of the Marylanders, and abetting their endeavors to obstruct, or rather destroy, Claybourne's Indian trade, which at length, a few days before his forced embarkation for England, were displayed in the seizure of the "Longtail," and the subsequent slaughter of Lieutenant Warner, the commander, and two of the crew of the vessel sent to rescue her. Matthews and Claybourne, as well as most others in Virginia, regarded this conduct of their Governor as treachery. Father White says that by kindness to the Marylanders, the Governor "hoped to recover the more easily from the Royal Treasury a great amount of money due him." (Colonial Papers, p. 208-9; vol. viii. § 65; II. Force White's Relation, p. 140.)

No official communication of these transactions appears to have been made by the Virginia authorities to the parent government. If Governor Harvey wrote at all, it was probably to Lord Baltimore, and with a view of making the King so grateful as to pay the arrears of his salary; for, in the previous September, his Lordship made an earnest application to Secretary Windebanke, to procure a letter of thanks from the King to Sir John Harvey, for the assistance he had given to his Maryland plantation, and against Claybourne. Sir John Harvey obtained the royal letter of thanks and Windebanke's approval of his conduct, but no money. Windebanke charged him "to continue his assistance against Claybourne's malicious practices." But previously to this application of Lord Baltimore, Claybourne had been superseded in his place of Secretary of State in Virginia by Kemp, the author of the letter above. His lordship apparently had earlier information from the Colonies than any one else, either by the letters of his own officers or from Sir John Harvey, and had every motive for effecting the removal from office of so obnoxious a person as Claybourne. But the King, with whom the justice and equity of the Kent Islanders' claim apparently for the moment had more weight than the technicalities which, unknown to the King and contrary to his intentions and pledges, had been designedly inserted in the Maryland patent to give Lord Baltimore an exclusive and absolute right of domain. On the 8th of October, on the petition of Wm. Cloberry and others, parties concerned with Claybourne in the purchase and settlement of Kent Island, issued an order to the Governor and Council of Virginia, and to all Lieutenants of provinces and countries in America, requiring them to be assisting to the planters in Kentish Island, that they might peaceably enjoy the fruits of their labors; and forbade Lord Baltimore, or his agents, to do them any violence. If the King, instead of declaring to Lord Baltimore that he would never infringe upon his patent, had possessed sufficient firmness and resolution to follow out his own convictions and sense of right, by altering, as he could have done, the Maryland patent, he would have put an effectual stop to the subsequent aggressions of Lord Baltimore's agents. Claybourne afterwards, in the May following, wrote (it is supposed to Secretary Coke) that "his Majesty's letter of the 8th of October, 1634, had been slighted, and the settlers on the Island brought to extreme want;

Came to the Governour and myselfe, we sent out a summons to the rest of the Counsell to meete, and warrants to apprehend Martian, English, and Potts, as also for other

that all his rights had been trampled upon, and the King's express commands, under the protection of which he deemed himself so safe, had been contemned; and so he had perished by security." He said also, that "he had been unjustly accused of many crimes, and an endeavor had been made to remove him." As Sir John Harvey passively or actively contributed to Claybourne's ruin, both in estate and office, it is probable that the latter willingly seconded the efforts of Matthews and the rest for the removal of the Governor himself, although it does not appear that he openly took any active part in their intrigues for that purpose. In 1637 he went to England, not because he was sent, as Burke says, with witnesses, by Governor Harvey, or was in concert with him, or befriended by him in any way; but in consequence of the sinister advice and artful contrivances of George Evelin, an unprincipled brother of Robert Evelin, the Surveyor of Virginia, and who finally managed to swindle his employers, Cloberry & Company, of London, and all their associates, out of the whole of their goods, property, and title in Kent Island. Claybourne's own loss was £6000. His arrival in London made up the number to about one-half of Governor Harvey's old council, then in England. (Colonial Papers, p. 190; vol. viii. §§ 26, 27, p. 191, § 32, pp. 208-9, §§ 64, 65; II. Force White's Relation, p. 14; supra, p. 131; II. Burke, p. 40; Streeter, p. 8.)

At that period, Matthews and his fellow *détenus* having, in Harvey's absence, the whole field to themselves, with the aid of their English friends, gained the good-will of the authorities so far as to procure from the Privy Council an order for the peremptory restoration of their property in Virginia, which had been seized by Governor Harvey. The sub-committee, into whose hands the pressure of more momentous and alarming affairs of state had thrown the consideration and control of those which concerned Virginia, was ardently and uniformly on the side of Harvey's enemies. In England these enemies were clearly in the ascendant, while he had sunk into comparative insignificance. To Lord Baltimore he had, at great personal sacrifice, rendered in the hour of need services of signal importance and value, as they placed his Lordship's interest in Maryland beyond the reach of impending danger. Yet Lord Baltimore did not scruple to make interest with Secretary Windebanke to supplant Sir John Harvey in the government of Virginia. The triumph of Sir John's foes was at length consummated by the appointment of Sir Francis Wyatt as his successor. The commission of Sir Francis bears date the 11th of 1639, and he entered upon the duties of his office in November, 1639. (Colonial Papers, p. 250; vol. ix. § 45, p. 252, § 53, p. 286; vol. x. § 3; Campbell, p. 197.)

The loss of office was utter ruin to Sir John Harvey. From the time of his return to Virginia his salary had never been paid, and more than four thousand pounds was owing to him when displaced. He had a slender income from fines and penalties, but was impoverished by being obliged to make his house a sort of guest-house, to which the members of the council, assembly, and quarter courts had a prescriptive custom of resorting for lodging and entertainment, and to which also visitors and strangers coming to the city usually repaired, because there was no inn there. Under such circumstances he was forced to be rigorous in the collection of fines and penalties, and moreover to contract debts, which would not have been incurred, if his salary had been honestly paid. The moment he lost his office, and with it all immunities of person, his creditors seized both his person and property.

Kemp wrote to Secretary Windebanke that "since Sir Francis Wyatt's arrival," about four months before, "they of the old commission had been persecuted with much malice, particularly Sir John Harvey, whose estate was wholly sequestered, and who wished to repair to England within the year." Sir John also wrote to the Secretary, that "he was so narrowly watched, that he had scarce time of privacy to write; that he was oppressed by his enemies, who had become his judges; his estate had been torn from him; his return to England had been denied, notwithstanding his many bodily infirmities, which were beyond the skill of the colony; and he requested the King's warrant to repair to England, where he

persons neer adjoining whose names we Vnderstood were subscribed to this writing. By examination wee found that Potts had bin the cheifest instrument in this business,

would give an account of his services and sufferings." This request was never granted. The leading officers of State, unable to pay off the arrears of his salary, did not covet the presence and importunities of a necessitous and suffering creditor. Every possible effort to prevent his return would also be made by those who, if he were in England, had reason to fear that they would be brought to punishment for having "thrust him out of the government" in 1635. To escape punishment, it appears from a petition of Sergeant Major Donne to the King, on behalf of Sir John Harvey, that Matthews and the rest, taking advantage of the petitioner's ill health, and the want of Sir John to follow the suit against them, had by petition obtained a reference of their case to the Lord Keeper and Attorney-General. Donne prayed that the nature and consequences of their offences might be considered, and Governor Harvey be heard by counsel with all speed, that they might be punished as they deserved. But no hearing or relief was granted to Harvey. The criminals escaped scot-free, while he was kept in exile to die in want and misery. (Colonial Papers, p. 100; vol. v. § 25, p. 129; vol. vi. § 11, p. 151, § 54, p. 276; vol. ix. § 114, p. 310; vol. x. § 61, p. 311, § 66, p. 314, § 73.)

Choleric and impatient by nature, he could ill bear opposition, and was apt to meet insolence with acts of personal violence. Hence he made himself many enemies. But on the other hand his hospitality and kindness gained him many friends. Among those who were more constantly near and about him, and knew him best, was the Secretary Kemp, whose fidelity and steadfast attachment very nearly involved him in the ruin of his chief. Kemp was aware that the sub-committee and Sir Francis Wyatt "aimed at his ruin." But his most active foe was Anthony Panton, late rector of York and Chiskiack, who, having been convicted in 1638 of "rebellious, mutinous, and riotous actions," was sentenced to banishment from the Colony. Returning to England about the time when Sir John Harvey's removal was determined on, he seems to have conceived that the best way to ingratiate himself with the sub-committee and other foes of Harvey and Kemp, and procure a reversal of his sentence and the consequent restoration of his forfeited estate, was to malign the Governor and his friend Secretary Kemp. He endeavored to make the Premier Archbishop Laud believe that Kemp had spoken very contemptuously of his Grace. Panton was so far successful as to obtain from the sub-committee a report, and of course an order of council, that the whole matter should be referred to the new Governor Wyatt, then going there, and the council, but Harvey and Kemp not to assist as Councillors, and that the sentence meanwhile should be suspended. Sir Francis Wyatt did not reach James City before the following November, and before he could take Panton's case into consideration, Kemp, by the interposition of Lord Baltimore and Lord Maltravers, powerful friends at Court, had obtained the King's order to the Governor and Council to continue Kemp in his offices of Secretary and of Registrar of Casks, — of which latter the fees had been suspended by the sub-committee's recommendation, — and to grant him license to come to England and to appoint a deputy in his absence. Before his departure he appointed George Reade his deputy, and wrote to his brother Robert Reade, Secretary to Windebanke, craving his assistance to save him from "being banded between the sub-committee and the new Governor and Council, who aimed at his ruin." He inclosed a certificate of the Governor and Council of Virginia, dated 24 October, 1639, just before the arrival of Wyatt, "touching certain speeches between Richard Kemp and Anthony Panton banished," etc.; and copies of two letters he had written to Windebanke and Lord Baltimore, requesting that they would make known to Archbishop Laud the proofs of his innocence of any disrespect towards him, and satisfy him of the propriety of his conduct. It was also a primary object with him, that he should be heard in his defence by the Lords' committee, when the King was present in Council, and not by the sub-committee. His first petition, after his arrival in London, failed to effect this change of reference. A second petition was probably successful, for we find that an order of the King was issued near the end of summer, 1640, commanding the Governor and Council

they deposed that it was brought from the Vpper parts by him, and that the effect of the writing was to desyer the Counsell to call the Governour to account for not sending theyre late answeare to the Kings letter by theyr agents, some of the examinants deposed that they knew not what the writing Contained, but that Potts tould them it was for theyr good and willed them to be assistant when they should be called, after a few days Potts was brought vp prisoner, hauing before his apprehending bin in the lower parts of the Country, there also mustering his names at a meeting caled to that purpose, but by what power or Commission, we Cannot heere Vnderstand, the Counsell being mett, Potts was brought before vs, and being demanded what writing that was which he carried about the Country, after some excuses he produced it, but withall sayd that if he had offended he did appeale to his King for he was sure of noe Justice from Sir John Harvey.

Vpon this wee againe Committed him, and brake Vp Counsell for that night. The next day the Governour demanded of the Counsell if they had knowledge of this writing or the peoples Grievances, Mr. Minifie one of the Counsell answered, that theyre cheifest grievance was, the not sending the answeare of the late assembly by theyre agents chosen, to which the Governour rising from his place replied, 'do you say soe? I arrest you vpon suspicion of treason to his Majesty,' wherevpon Captain Uty and Captain Mathewes both of the Counsell, layed hands on the Governour, Vsing these words and we you vpon

of Virginia to admit George Reade to the place of Secretary in the absence of Richard Kemp, with *all* fees and perquisites of office. Reade had been, three months before, left as deputy by Kemp, when he embarked for England. Reade wrote to his brother Robert, that when Kemp was gone he should have no friend in Virginia, and expected no favor from the new government. (Colonial Papers, pp. 301-2; vol. x. §§ 32, 33, p. 305, § 43, p. 310, § 64, p. 311, § 66, p. 314, § 72.)

Sir Francis Wyatt was superseded by Sir William Berkeley, whose commission was issued on the 9th of August, 1641, and who entered upon the duties of his office in the following February. Kemp was one of his Council, and probably Secretary, as before. He was also for a year from June, 1644, Governor in the absence, in England, of Sir William. He continued in the Council up to 1648, but of his subsequent history we have no account. (Colonial Papers, 321, vol. x. post § 83; Campbell, p. 322; I. Hening, pp. 232, 288, 322, 339, 382.)

suspition of treason to his Majesty. I step to them and tould them he was the Kings leiftenant, and that they had done more then they Could well answere. For by this act the Kings honor and prerogative was in question vpon which words they lett goe theyer hold, the Governour then retiring to his place the rest of the Counsell pressing towards him wherevpon I thus far againe advised. Gentlemen since I see you are all in passion, which makes men noe longer men, and what acts you may now run into, your selues knowe not, therefore I pray give a smale respite to your anger and recouer your reason, to which theire answere was they would, and did accordingly. After some pause Captain Matthews began in these words to the Governour, Sir the peoples fury is vp against you and to appease it is beyond our power, vnless you please to go for england, there to answer theyr Complaint. The Governour's answer was that he was Comanded by the King to this service, and from it he would not depart vntil his majesty pleased to call him, many words and much time was spent in arguing, at last the gouernour demanded that they would sett downe under theire hands theire propositions which they sayd against Morning they would prepare and soe departed for that night. I must not here omitt one circumstance which I haue by information, which might argue a fore knowledge in some of the Counsell of this hubbub of the people, as also some bad intent towards the Governour which they were resolved to make good, for when these passages were our doctor Potts held but vp his hands which a second man who stood by a neer adjoyning pale tooke as a signall, when straight about 40 musketeers marched vp to the doore of the Governours house, and a fellow was seen going by with a burden of Muskets, who being rebuked by another for carriing them soe neere the Governors house for discrying, made answere, tis no matter, he shall know we haue armes. This on Mr. Rob^t Lytcott sonne of Sir John Lytcott

who now goeth for england can (as he affirmes to mee) and will be ready to testify before your Honours. The next morning the Counsell brought theyre propositions in writing, and subscribed them before the Governour, Captain Mathewes speaking to mee for my hand, my answer was, that it was to be supposed noe man had there subscribed but they who would also swear it, and for my part my Knowledge was not Interested in any such greivances, or in the truth of any Complaints against the Governour, neither did I conceive the business soe full of danger as to necessitate the Governours going for England which satisfied them, then the Governour tould them that he would take time to give an answeare, which was assented to. That night there came a letter to the Governour from captain Purifie, one of the Counsell from the lower parts, which I noe further mention to your Honours, because the original is in the hands of Sir John Harvey, after the reading of which letter, I must Confesse I apprehended more danger towards the Governours person, the[n] formerly I had done. Then did the Governour demand of mee my advice concerning his going home, and withall put this question to mee, whether he should not doe better to abide the brunt, though he were cutt in a thousand pieces, then to leave his charge. My answeare was, that the slighting of danger in the service of his King and Master was noe less then his duty inioyned him, but I desyred him to consider whether the losse of his life alone were all the hazards the Kings service should runne, for when their fury had Inraged them to such an action, they must goe further to make that good. The Governor then resolved to goe for England and the next morning signified soe much to the Counsell, vpon these Condictions, that they would elect one of the Counsell whome he should nominate Governour vntill the Kings pleasure was further knowne.

Next that they would sweare vpon the holy Euangelists

to offer no hostility to those of Mary-land, thirdly that Captain Mathewes, Captain Peirce and Mr. Minifie might likewise goe for England to neither of theise they would yeild, notwithstanding which, the Governour held his resolute, and that day delivered his Commission and Instructions to my Custody, in the presence of the Counsell, signifying the Intent of the Governour and Commanding all persons to dispeirce themselves to their seuerall homes. I could not Give your Honours a full information, without this circumstance which is now left to your Lordships g[r]auer censure, as also, how dangerous a president this might be to future insolencies, vnless by some speedy Course your Honours please to bridle them. Potts (whome we find to be the Incendiary of these broyles at least it is most apparent that by his hand the writing was both drawne and Conveyed throughout the Collony) by reason of his appeale wee send into England, and haue taken security that he shall attend when your lordships shall determine of him, the names of the rest Sir John Harvey hath truly Copied. There is one Captain West chosen Governour vntill his Majestyes pleasure be further knowne, which I hope your Honours will hasten, and thereby settle these miserable distractions amongst vs. I am but lately ingaged in this service but I shall summon vp all my faculties and abilityes to discharge it faithfully, and as any other occurances happen which may concerne your honours knowledge, you shall receive a sincere account from

Your honours most Commanded servant.

RICHARD KEMP.

VIRG. this 17th of May 1635.

A duplicate of my letter to theyer honours Commissioners.

WILLIAM ROBINSON'S LETTER TO GEORGE WHITHEAD,
GEORGE FOX AND GEORGE ROFE.

Dear Brethren of the Everlasting Covenant, & servants of the Most high, & Children of the Living God, whose dreadfull name & eternall power is with you, to the subduing of all your enemies, & with you to the gathering in of many into the fold and rest of God, the place of his abode, & resting place for ever; whose standard is lifted & lifting up over all nations, & the Ensigne of the Lord God of hoasts is held and holding forth to all nations, that they may al behold the glory of the Son of God; the Trumpet of the Lord God is sounded forth abroad, & an alarum in the Eares of the Inhabitants of the Earth, to prepare to meet the Lord by speedy Repentance that they may find mercie in this day of the Lord's appearance. Oh! my Dear Brethren of the Immortall Seed. Oh! God knowes I am refreshed at the writing of this unto you, I am ful of love, my tender Bowells doth flow out unto you; oh! feel me at the fountaine of holyness, at the River of our God, where wee drink abundantly & are satisfyed, at the Table of the Lord, & Kingdom of God, where our Souls take delight to be in the Presence of God for ever. Oh! yee my Brethren, I am one with you, in your joyes & rejoycings & glory & dominion over the powers of darkness; As I am one with you in your sufferings, tryalls & temptations, travels & labours, which befalls us for the Seed Sake, for which we are given up into the Will of the Lord, to worke in his vinyard, & to labour with the Lord, for the Redemption of the seed, & the gathering in thereof, from of all the barren mountains into the Sheepfold, to pertake with us of the Dew of Heaven, wherby wee are kept fresh as the Morning, & plants of the Lord's planting, wherby he takes delight to do us good. Oh! surely, though I am seperated

from you in the body, over seas, yet surely I am sealed unto you & am with you now in the spirit, wherein we cannot be seperated, as we abide with the Lord: God knowes how dear you are unto me; I who am one of the least among my Brethren, yet surely the power of the Lord God, & strength of the Almighty is with me; who hath upholden my head in the time of tryall, & houre of great temptation, from which in his tender mercie & loving kindness by his Arme he hath kept me, & hath often Delivered me; and hath appeared with me to the terror of Syon's oppressors. Oh! though I be the least among many, yet the Lord knowes my heart is upright, & am faithfull to him, who hath called me, who hath said, he will not leave me, nor forsake me.

My Dear Brethren, it would refresh my tender Bowells to receive a few lynes from you, to hear of the work of the Lord in that Island of England, and garden of God, where the Lillies grow, & pleasant smell ascends up unto the Lord:

I am broken in peices with the Remembrance of you, who are as A seal upon my Breast, feel me oh! feel me in your own lives, given up for the service of the Lord for the Seed, to which the God of heaven hath regard to; my Life is sacrified up, And laid downe in the Will of God: for the Redemption of the Seed: oh! if I never See your faces more in the outward man, the will of God be done, for I am given freely up, my Life to Lay downe at this Towne of Boston, or their BLOODY LAWES to BREAKE.

Dear Brethren, here followeth an Account of some passages of the Servants of the Lord, in his work in these parts, Labouring in the strength & power of the Almighty God, for the gathering in of the Seed, & restoring of the Creature, and nature into its former course againe, to bring the Creature to feel after God, & to be sencable of its losse, that he may be redeemed out of that state, into that which maketh manifest the losse, & restores the lost sheep

of the house of Israel to him, who rejoycest over it, after it is restor'd & found.

Our Dear Sister & handmaide Sarah Gibbens is departed out of the Body, & finished her testimony in this Country; who hath left a good Savour & sweet smell behinde her, for Generations will call her blessed, who is laide down in the Life, & swallowed up into the fountaine of God, in the kingom of heaven, & bosom of the father.

I came lately from Virginia with my Brethren Robert Hodgshon, Christopher Holder & William Leddra, at which place I was about 14 Monthes in service & hard travels through the Country for the Seed sake, which is scattered abroad in these western parts of the world, where people lives without A sheeheard. But many there are, that are come in these Countries, to wittness & know the sheeheard & Bishop of there Soules, for there are many convinced in Virginia, & some that are come to be sencable of the power of God, & spirit of truth.

I was a Prisoner in Virgenia about 6 months, there is much work & service to be done in it, before the seed be al gatherd there: wee left our dearly Beloved Thomas Thurston, A Prisoner in the Province of Mary-land, nere Virgenia, he was Imprisoned for a yeare & a day, but he had much Liberty outwardly. Wee came to Roade Island on the 5^t of the 4th Month, where wee mett with two of our Brethren, Peter Pearson, & Marmaduke Stevenson, in whom wee were refreshed, they came lately from Barbadoes, they had drawings for Barmudoes, but it was not there Lott to be Landed there, although they saw it, for the Master of the vessell would not venter in, because he did not know the way going into it, And it is A very dangerous place, because of Rocks; so they left it, & they were Landed at Roade Island, where at that time Sarah Gibbens was, but sone after departed out of the Body.

Friends at Road Island were glad in heart to see us, & there we tooke courage, & such as had been like to faint,

was refreshed; & gathered strength again, and stood upon there feete, & begins to walk in the name of the Lord our God; and strength they have received to withstand, & to beare with him, who have been of a long time A Burden to them.

I I & W. Leddra, went to Road Island, the tenth of the 4th Month, to a place called Sandwich, where there are many friends, who suffers much in the spoiling of their goods; After that they had been there some time, they were taken prisoners, and are prisoners at A Towne called Plimouth, 30 miles from Boston, as my Dearly Beloved C Holder did write me, from A place called Salem, 15 Miles from Boston. At that Salem he was on the 28 day of the last Month, from whence he is passed towards Sandwitch againe, as I have been tould, where he hath had fine service among friends, since I I & W L were Imprisoned: The Lord hath kept him out of the hands of the enemies that seek to hinder the worke of God. The Lord God is with us, therefore noe weapon that is formed against us can prosper.

Robert Hodgshon I left at Road Island, & came with my companyon Marmaduke Stevenson, on the 15 of the Last month to Boston, in obedience to the Lord, to beare our testimony against there BLOODY LAW, which they have made; After that we had been some houres in the Towne, wee passed into their meeting house, and Declared against there unsanctified fast & hipocrisie (for that day was a fast with them) but they soone like Beares Laide violent hands upon us, & by force hailed us forth, & hailed us to Prison; on the day following wee were had before there Court, where wee were Examined, & many questions put to us, seeking to ensnare us in our words, but the Lord stood by us, & in his strength did uphould us, & in his power were wee kept, & hid from the vulerouss Eye; And his name was with us, & upon us, & in his dread & Dominion did wee stand, & by the Wisdom of the Lord were they con-

founded, & did Rage, & were madd, because I reprov'd them sharply, & laid there folly & wickedness open; For in the Dominion of the Lord God Almighty I stood over them, & spake over there heads; Soe after they had examined us both, they sent us to prison againe, & after a small time, were had into the Court againe; & then the Secretary read A Law to us, which they had made concerning Banishing of friends, upon DEATH; & also read the warrant they made to the keeper of the Prison, to keep us close Prisoners, untill there Court of Assistants (as they call it) which is as I did heare, in the 7th month next, & then they intend to Banish us upon Death.

Here is also A handmaide of the Lord Jesus, A Prisoner in the Goalers house, her name is Patience Scot, A friends daughter in this Country, the child is of A good understanding, & indued (in measure) with the wisdom of God; the presence of the Lord is with her; She is aboute 11 or 12 yeares of Age; the Rulers hereof when they examined her, were Astonished at her answers to ther questions, & ther wisdom was confounded, & turned backwards, which made them madd, & to rage, & did give out some speeches to this effect: That it was Impossible for such a childe as she is of her selfe, to speake soe as she did; But that it was something in her, more than the Creature, and said (for to cover their folly, before the Ignorant, but there weakness & wickedness was seen by it) the Devill did speak in her, & such words: And soe they manifested them selves, to be of that seed & offspring, & of that Generation, that said Christ had A Devill:

Some 2 dayes after wee were examined, I was had before the Governor & Secretary, & many questions they asked me, as concerning the Body of Christ, & such like questions, & after many questions, the Secretary said, That if I Did Return Againe After I Were Banished, That He Would Write A Warrent With His Owne Hand, And Send Me To The Gallowes To Be Hanged; Also the Gov-

ernour spake faintly, for he was moderate at that time ; He said, that he did Believe, that if I came againe, I would be Hanged ; But he said he believed that I would not come any more, the like the Secretary & Goaler said also, that they believed that I would not come againe ; for the Goaler said, there were others that did say, that they would not goe away, yet are fled ; he ment 6 friends, that the Rulers here hath Banished away upon Death, from there outward beerings, within 15 miles of Boston ; for they are fled the Cross, and hath given the Enemie Cause to Triumph, & hath Caused them to say, that they will doe much, or say much, till tryall of Death come, but then they flee ; Thus have they given the Enemy advantage, & hath caused the Heathen to open there Mouthes against such, that live in the Truth, whose lives are not dear unto them, for the Truth, whereof they are made pertakers ; oh ! God knowes how nere it went me, when I did heare of there Departure, And also of there giving out Such words, Of continuing in there Places, what ever the Enemy was sufferd to doe unto them ; These Words speaking was worse than the former ; It beeing soe that they are fled. On the same Day that I heard of it, The Lord laid it on me, my LIFE to give up, BOSTONS-BLOODY-LAWES to try ; As my Dear Brethren yee may feel me in your owne Lives, how singly I am given up, And alsoe my Brother & Companyon Marmaduke Stevenson, our Testimonies to finish at this Towne of Boston, if the Power be in there hands, to take our Lives from us.

My Companyon in Sufferings, dearly salutes you.

Your Brother

WILLIAM ROBINSON

Boston (in new England) the
12 day of the 5t Month
1659

LETTER SENT FROM CHARLES THE 2^D KING OF ENGLAND
TO NEW ENGLAND.*

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY & WELLBELOVED, WEE GREET YOU WELL,—
Having been informed that severall of our Subjects amongst
you, Called Quakers, have been & are Imprisoned by you,
whereof some have been Executed, & others (as hath
been represented unto us) are in danger to undergoe the
Like; Wee have thought fitt to signifie our Pleasure in
that behalfe for the future, And do hereby Require, that if
there be any of those People called Quakers amongst you,
now allready Condemned to suffer Death, or other Corporall
Punishments, or that are Imprisoned, & obnoxious to the
like Condemnation, you forbear to Proceed any farther
therein, But that you forthwith send the said Persons,
whether Condemned or Imprisoned, over into this our
kingdom of England, together with ther respective Crimes
or offences laid to there Charge, to the end such course may
be taken with them here, as shalbe agreable to our Lawes
& theire Demerrits. And for soe doing, these our Letters
shalbe your Warrent & sufficient Discharge.

Given at our Court at White Hall the 9th day of Sep-
tember 1661 in the 13 yeare of our Reigne.

By his Maiesties Command

WILLIAM MORRIS.

To our Trusty & Wellbeloved John Indicot Esquire, &
to all, & every other the Governour or Governours of our

* This letter was brought by Samuel Shattock. It was read in the General Court on the 27 Nov. 1661 and the Laws against the Quakers were suspended, so far as regarded the infliction of death and corporal punishment, but those respecting corporal punishment were revived within a year.—[IV. Mass. Records ii. pp. 34–59.]

Plantation of new England; and of all the Collonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or here after shalbe; And to all & every the Ministers and Officers there, off our said Plantation & Collonies Whatsoever, in the Continent of new England.

SAMUEL SHATTOCK'S LETTER, SENT FROM NEW ENGLAND
TO FRIENDS.

The 2^d night after wee weighed Anchor from the Downes, wee had a great storm & were suddainly (in the night) surprized with a whirlwind, & were greatly delivered with the losse of our maine Sayle. Wee had a very comfortable passage being just 7 weeks; wee were brought nere the land in a month's time, but mett with prity hard weather on the Coast, & great storms, but were preserved in all, & the Presence of the Lord was with us. when wee came into Boston Harbour, many came on Ship-board for Newes & Letters; But were somewhat struck in Amaze, when they saw what wee were; soe wee were free to deliver them theire Letters, and they passed away; So I continued on Ship board, waiting to see what would be done, expecting wee might be sent for, & finding otherwise, the Master & myselfe fitted our selves to go on shoare, to deliver our Letter to the Governour; when wee came on shoare, wee found all very still, & a very great calme; the moderate sort (as I met them) Rejoyced to see me, & some of the violent wee met as men chained, & bowed downe, & could not looke us in the face (the weight of Guilt being on them). Soe we passed to the Governour, which some of the persecutors perceiving, hasted thether before us; when wee came before the Governour at his house, Ralph Goldsmith (master of the vessell) delivered

him the Letter ; Soe he required our hats to be pulled off, & bid that they should be given us againe) then he opened the Letter, & looked on it, & had few words to us, only asked me why I came againe : & why I did not send for my family to England ; & soe wee passed away, & went to visit our friends in Prison, which were John Smith & his wife, & John Chamberlaine of Boston ; the woman had been a prisoner two yeares ; Soe on the first day of the weeke, the Constables in the fore part of the day, was at three houses to looke for us, but we were on shipboard ; But about noone wee went on shoare, & were at a meeting, at John Chamberlain's house ; on the morrow I passed to Salem, where I was received with much Joy & gladness of heart, by many of the people of the Towne. And many friends did accompany mee into the Towne, to my Dwelling where I found all things well, the Lord having been (in my absence) A father to my Children, & A husband to my Wife ; And though Cruelty hath greatly abounded, yet truth hath here gotten prety much ground of the Adversary ; & the Coming of our ship is of very wonderfull service, for the Bowells of the Moderate sort are greatly refreshed, through out the Country, and many mouthes are now opened, which before were shutt, & some of them now say, Its the wellcomest ship that ever came into this Land, & the love of friends one to another, in sending the Ship on this Account preaches much in this place, & the service of it is like to be very great ; A Generall Court is now Called & the Ministers are also Summoned to Boston for Counsell ; But wee remaine quiet in our Habitations.

Josiah Southwick & Nicholas Phelps are well ; Josiah was whipt 3 times, & this John Chamberlaine (abovesaid) hath been whipt 9 times. at the CART'S-TAYLE, because he suffers A meeting at his House.

Word is come from the Court, that they entend at

Present, to Let out friends that are Prisoners, & at Present to lett there Laws alone, and to send an Agent for England about the Business.

SAMEWELL SHATTOCK.

Ralph Goldsmith also writt to London, from Boston (bearing date the tenth day of the tenth Month 1661. That Friends (the Prisoners above mentioned) are released out of Prison, And that Nicholas Upshall, who hath been Banished five yeares, & Imprisoned about two yeares of it, is released. Alsoe, that Truth hath great Dominion in the Land.

VIRGINIAS DEPLOURED CONDITION:

Or an Impartiall Narrative of the Murders comitted by the Indians there, and of the Sufferings of his Ma^{ties} Loyall Subiects vnder the Rebellious outrages of M^r Nathaniell Bacon Jun^r to the tenth day of August A^o Do^m 1676.

The bounds
of Virginia.

Virginia soe called in honnour of our Virgin Queene Elizabeth in whose happy Reigne itt was discovered by that famous Kn^t S^r Walter Rawleigh, Conteyneth James River, Yorke, Rappahanoc, and the South side of potomac River, with Accomac, in all which are Twenty Countys, and about forty thousand Inhabitants, Is vnder the Governem^t of a Govern^r and Councell, who are Commissionated by his most sacred Ma^{ty} to try all causes, and doe hold theire Court; which is called the Generall Court, att least three times in the yeare, where all causes above xvi^{ll} ster^l are pleadable, and the severall County Courts, who sitt every two Months (and oftner if Merchants affaires require) try other causes, In which severall Courts, the proceedings are by takeing out Writts to the Generall Court, and entring actions to the County Courts, which are executed

The maner of
proceedings
at Law.

by the Sheriffe of each County, and soe by petiçon entred with the Clerke, the matter coms in plea, and seldome any delay in p'ceedeing to Judgment, vnless speciall matter appeareth, and then a Refference is granted, the vseuall charge of trying a cause being fifty two pound of tobacco, And if any Judgment be given either in the Generall or County Courts, with which either p'ty is dissatisfied, Appeales lye to the grand Assembly, where the Judgment Appealed from, is either reverced or confirmed and soe Execucon follows either against Body or goods, If ag^t the body the debt^r hath liberty to redeeme himselfe by tending his whole estate on oath, and the Credit^r to make choyce of such part of itt, as by fflower indifferent men, shall be valued sufficient to sattisfie the debt, and if a cause be vnder two hundred pound of tobacco, every Justice of peace in his County, hath power to determine itt without further charge. The grand Assembly which consists of the Govern^r, Councill, and two Burgesses choasen for each County, make such Laws as are requisite for the Country, which are not repugnant to the Laws of England, and meete once a yeare att James Towne, where they assess such publique charge as the Indian warr, or other exigencys require, And this seldome amounts to above xx^{lb} of tobacco p' poll (that is every male above xvi yeares of age). The severall County Courts assess y^e charge of their Countys, as Burgess charg. building of Court howses & prisons, bridges, encouragement for killing of Wolues, and the like, this vseually is the greatest charg, in some Countys amounting to forty pounds of tobacco p' poll, And the Vestrys assess the parrish charge, as y^e Ministers dues, building and repareing Churches and other parochiall dues. All these are vseually collected by the Sheriffe of the County, who dischargeth the County debts.

Of their
making
Laws & raising
Levies.

There hath beene endeavours of fortificacons, severall forts have beene built for proteccon of the shippes trading thither, who by speciall comands from the Govern^r have

Concerning
their forts.

beene enioyned to ride vnder those forts, but by importunity of the Burgesses, itt is dispensed with. This is conceived to be of noe small prejudice to the Country, for if the shippes had soe ridd, and the tobacco of every County beene brought to p'ticuler places itt would in all likelyhood have beene very aduantageous, by causeing Warehouses to be built, and soe in p'cess of times Townes; to induce the people thereto, hath beene the endeavour of the Govern^r for many yeares past, which is evident, as well by his many p'posalls to the Assembly, shewing the great aduantage which would follow by seateing in Townes, as alsoe by his great charg att James Towne, where he hath expended att least three thousand pound ster^e in brick buildings, Notwithstanding this every one endeavours to gett great tracts of Land, and many turne Land lopers, some take vp 2000 acres, some 3000 Acres, others ten thousand Acres, nay many men have taken vp thirty thousand Acres of Land, and never cultivated any part of itt, onely sett vp a hog howse to save the Laps, thereby preventing others seateing, soe that too many rather then to be Tennants, seate vpon the remote barren Land, whereby contentions arrise betweene them and the Indians, for by Articles of peace, bounds are sett betweene the English and the Indians, yett people are not content, but encroach vpon them, takeing vp the very Townes or Lands they are seated vpon, turning their Cattell and hoggs on them, and if by Vermin or otherwise any be lost, then they exclame against the Indians, beate & abuse them (notwithstanding the Govern^{rs} endeavour to the contrary) And this by the most moderate people is looked vpon, as one of the great causes of the Indians breach of peace, for itt is the opinion of too many there, (and especially of their Generall M^r Bacon) that faith is not to be kept with heathens, this brings great scandall vpon the Christian Religion, and makes soe few Indian conuerts, being contrary to y^e example of Joshua with the Gibonites, yett through the prudence of S^r Wil-

Virginia
Land lopers.

liam Berkeley, who hath beene there thirty fower yeares, & the greatest time Govern^r the English have lived peaceably, vntill about a yeare since,^a a Nation of Indians called Susquehanoes enforced themselues on the North side of potomac, and harboured some Indians called doegs, who to revenge a private Iniury received from some att the head of Rappahanoc, did in September 1675, Murder fower English, the Murderers were p^sued over potomac River and Eight of them were killed, this caused the Indians to prosecute their revenge, Wherevpon the Govern^r com^{manded} the Militia of the severall Countys in Potomac and Rappahanoc, to prosecute Warr ag^t those Indians, vpon which they Joyned with the Maryland forces, and entrenched about the Indians fort, killed many, and brought the residue to great distrese, yett through remissness, or too much security of the English, the Indians in a dark night escaped out of their fort, and in their flight comitted many murders att the heads of the severall Rivers, the Winter coming on little could be don, onely all care imaginable was taken for security of the fronteere County. In ffebruary the Indians appeared againe, which caused the Govern^r to call the Assembly to consult the safety of the Country, who mett the 5th day of March last, and ordered that 500 men should be speedily raised out of the inland Countys, and that fforts or howses of defence should be built att the heads of the Rivers for resort of the souldiers, and security of the Amuni^{cion}, and the Govern^r ordered that the strength of the Neighbouring Indians should be inquired into, the Pamunkeys therevpon came in, and offered their assistance ag^t all enimies, but now the people of New Kent County began to mutiny, and complaine of the procee^{dings} of the Assembly, and M^r Bacon appeared amongst them cherishing their discontents, for he p^rceiueing the Indian troubles would be continued, by which he could not have that trade with y^m which he propo^{sed} to himselfe; as is evident by his building a howse purposely for that

Beginning
ye Indian
Warr.

500 men
raised & f
built.

Mr Bacon
discontent
& beginin
of the Rel
lion.

trade and haveing petitioned the Govern^r for a lycence for the onely trade with the Indians (itt by Acts of Assembly left to the Govern^r to p'mitt such trade as he should thinke fitt) but M^r Bacon mett with a denial, att which takeing disgust and some other maloncholly humors entring into his braine he cloased with the discontented tumults in New Kent, and being a man of repute in the Country, haveing by the Governo^{rs} favour been admitted one of the Councell, he insinuated itt into the vulgar people that he would carry on the Indian warr, without any charge to y^m, that he would free them from levies, with many such fair pretences and soe he distributes his pap's in all p'ts of the Country. The forts' being settled, the forces were dayly out in p'suit of the Indians, and the vulgar people are by M^r Bacons scandalous pap's animated, rise in tumults, and they of New Kent enuieing the pamunkeys and coveting the good Land on which they were seated, p'ceiveing y^e Governo^{rs} iust inclinacoñs to preserue them as Spyes, to finde out the Susquehanoes & other Indian enimies, M^r Bacon taketh aduantage of the discontents he had raised, beateth vp drums, lists his tumults in a military posture, and appeareth at the head of them, and then sends to the Govern^r for a Comission. The Govern^r ordered that the Militia officers of the fronteere Countys, should appoint such Coñmanders and, p'secute the Indian enimies as they should think fitt, yett M^r Bacon continued his raiseing and listing men, incouraging all discontented and factious p'sons, and thretning others, Vpon this the Govern^r sent for him, he refused to appear, being conscious of his illegal actings, and feereing to be called to accompt for y^m, and he soe terrified and thretned the pamunkey Indians that they fled for security. This amused the Govern^r Councell and other loyall people, and notwithstanding the endeavours of Coll Bacon & others to p'swade M^r Bacon to desist from his illegall p'ceedeings, yett he being an obstinate p'uerce man, findeing himselfe guarded by the people of his own faction,

whome he had sworne to live & dye togeather, he refused all obedience, Vpon this the Govern^r vndertooke a Journey to the heads of Yorke & James Rivers, to see y^e condicon of the forts, to settle the hearts of the people, and to call M^r Bacon to accompt, severall Gen^l. of the adioyning Countys well armed and mounted, computed three hundred, accompanied the Govern^r in this march, which began the 3^d of May last, M^r Bacon haveing intelligence of this, not being willing his foule acts should come to a fair heareing, to shelter himselfe getts about two hundred men in Armes, and with them marched to a Naçõ of Indians called the Ockinagees.

The Govern^r's march

These Ockinagees are a stout people, seated about 200 Miles southward of James River, on an Island comodious for trade, and is the Mart for all the Indians for att least 500 miles, and were great lovers of the English, to these Indians the fled Susquehanoes came for succor, and were for some time releived, but they being exercised in warr for many yeares, with the Senacæes, and liveing on rapin, endeavoured to beat the Ockinagees of their own Island, but the Susquehanoes were forced to fly, M^r Bacon happned to come to the Ockinagees in y^t Juncture of time, he & all his men were civilly treated, and releived, he required their aid ag^t the Susquehanoes, they to manifest their readiness, sent out a p^ty who killed severall Susquehanoes, brought in the Kings lock in triumph, with severall prisoners, some of which they cruelly tortured & killed runing fyer brands up their bodys & the like, the remainder being Eight, they presented to M^r Bacon, (and they were all y^e prisoners he brought in) All this time he could not take the least occasion to quarrell with the Ockinagees, for itt is most true, that the great designe (which is confessed by some that was with him) was to gett the Beaver, of which there was great store, computed by some to be of 1000[£] ster^l. value, but M^r Bacons provisions being spent, and not haveing don any thing ag^t the Indians, (which he knew would cause the

A description of the Ockinagees.

people to complaine, and he to loose his popular applause) he taketh occasion to sett guards on the Indians fort (where the Beaver the onely cause of the quarrell was) and would not p'mitt any of them to pass in or out, putting his men into a posture to fight, and secureing those Indians that were out of the fort, which those within p'ceiveing fyred, and then the fight began, continued all day, about 50 Indians were blown vp in their Cabins, some killed in the fort (which the English could not enter) and Night approaching, caused the English to retyre, leaveing a drum and some men behinde and soe M^r Bacon and those of his men which were left, returned in a disorderly manner, Eleven of his Company being killed, and severall mortally wounded.

The fight
with the
Ockinagees.

In this time the Governo^r visited the fronteeres, and the ffort at the head of pamunkey River, which was in a good posture & the men resolute. Alsoe the Govern^r dispatched severall p'tys out, in discovery of the Indians, And the Pamunkeys who were encompassed with trees which they had fallen in the branch of an Impassable swamp, p't of the dragon, were by the extraordinary dilligence of Coll. Claiburne & some other loyall Geñt discovered, who went to the Queene, requireing her returne to her Townes, and declaire the reason of her withdrawing, she answered she would most willingly returne and be vnder the Govern^{rs} protection, but that she did vnderstand the Govern^r & those Gen^l., could not p'tect y^mselues from M^r Bacons violence, but promised that she & her Indians should continue peaceable without comitting any Iniuries to the English or assisting y^e Susquehanoes, saying she had not stirred from her Townes, but that she & her Indians were dayly thretned to be cutt off by M^r Bacon, which had beene don, had she not removed in time. Of this the Govern^r was informed, who resolved not to be soe answered but to reduce her and the other Indians, soe soone as Bacon could be brought to submitt, to that purpose the Govern^r

The Pamunkey
Indians discovered.

marched to the falls of James River, in expecta^{co}n of M^r Bacons returne, and to examine and settle that business, and soe to p^rsecute the Indian warr, but in the meane time M^r Bacon had by his emisaryes, spred abroad his scandalous pap's, inciteing the people to mutiny, and oppoase the Acts of Assembly. The Govern^r now could doe noe less then publickly declaire his dislike of M^r Bacons illegall actings and to declare them Rebellious, And for that itt was necessary to compoase the differences raised by M^r Bacon. The Govern^r p^rceiveing a new Assembly would be gratefull to the people, and to sattisfie them in all their Complaints, dissolued the late Assembly (which had continued fowerteene yeares) and Issued forth Writts for a new election of Burgesses to meete the fifth day of June, the Govern^r intending to stay in those p^rts vntill M^r Bacons returne and haveing discharged those Gent. that accompanied him to see to the peace of their Countys, he continued with those souldiers y^t were settled in the fort att the head of James River, but M^r Bacon delayeing his returne, and the time for meeteing of the Assembly drawing nigh, the Govern^r was desiered by the Councell to returne to the Greene spring, where S^t Henry Chichley as his Ma^{tie}'s Lt. Gen^l of Virginia, had for some time resided for dispatch of the publick affaires. Soone after M^r Bacon returned, and possessed the people that he had don great matters, killed above a hundred Indians, and complained of the Govern^{rs} declaireing him Rebell, and soe resolved to continue his forces. The time for election of Burgesses for Henrico County being come, M^r Bacon goes to the Court howse with his armed men, where he procured himselfe to be choasen their Burgess. Att this time the Govern^{rs} Remonstrance of the xxixth day of May being sent to the adiacent Countys (who vnanimously concurred with the Govern^{rs} p^rceedeings) was to be read att Henrico, and the Sheriffe goeing to read itt, the same was violently

A new Assembly.

M^r Bacon's returne from y^e Ockina-goes Island.

taken from him by M^r Bacon, soe that the Court was forced to rise without doeing any thing.

M^r Bacons
first coming
to Towne &
being taken.

M^r Bacon resolved to force his admittance amongst y^e Burgesses and therevpon came in his sloop, with fifty armed men, and in the night with his guards, privately getts into Towne, where he associated with Dru^mond (that p^rfidious scott) and Lawrance (that Athisticall & scandalous p^rson) who informed him of what had passed att Towne, by breake of day he returneing on board his sloop was discovered, and an Allarum in the towne, and imediately severall small Boates were well manned to take him, who p^rsued him to Sandy point, where the Shipp's ridd, by whome he was fyred att, and p^rticularly by Cap^t Gardner in the ship Adam & Eve, who had the Govern^{rs} order to that purpose, and soe M^r Bacon was forced to come to Anchor, and he & his men were taken, brought to Towne by Cap^t Gardner & Cap^t Hubert ffarrell. Now great hopes was, that those intestine troubles would be ended, and noe obstruction in carrying on the Indian Warr, the Burgesses the next Morning mett, and that all private animosities and grudges might be laid aside, vpon M^r Bacons submission, on his knees in open Court, and faithfull promises of future good behaviour, he was pardoned, and he & his souldiers discharged.

The meet-
ing of y^e As-
sembly &
M^r Bacons
discontent.

The Assembly proceeded in forming an Army of 1000 Men, to be imediately raised, and sent out ag^t the Indians, But M^r Bacon goes home, harbouring private discontent, and studying revenge for his late confinement, sends to the factious, discontented people of New Kent, & those p^rts, that severall affronts were offered to him in his confinement, for his vindicateing them, that the Assembly were bringing a great charg by raiseing more forces, and that instead of reduceing the 500 men now in pay, they had ordered a thousand souldiers to be raised, suggesting to them that the only way for carrying on the Warr would be by Volunteeers, of which he would be Generall soe that (as bad

actions are vseually attended with worse) he getts the discontented rabble together, and with them resolved to putt himselfe, once more on the stage, and on y^e xxith day of June he entred James Towne, with 400 foot, & 120 horse, sett guards att the state howse, kept the Govern^r, Councell and Burgesses prisoners, and would suffer none to pass in or out of Towne, and haveing drawne vp all his forces to the very doore & windows of the state howse, he demanded a Commission to be Gen^l of all the forces that should be raised dureing the Indian Warr, he and all his souldiers crying out Noe Levies, Noe Levies. The Assembly acquainted him they had taken all possible care for carrying on y^e Indian Warr at the easiest charge that could be, that they had redressed all theire Complaints, and desiered that for sattisfac^on of the people, what they had don might be publickly read, M^r Bacon answered there should be noe Laws read there, that he would not admitt of any delays, that he came for a Comission, and would imediately have itt, therevpon sending his souldiers into y^e State howse, where the Govern^r Councell & Burgesses were sitting and thretning them with fyer and sword iff itt was not granted, his souldiers mounting their Guns ready to fyer, Soe that for feer all would be in a flame, the Councell and Burgesses Joyned in a request to the Govern^r to grant M^r Bacon such a Comission as he would have, the Govern^r declaired he would rather loose his life then consent to the granting such vnreasonable things as he demanded, but for preven^on of that ruin, which was then thretned vpon their second request, Order was given for such a Comission as M^r Bacon would have himselfe, and according to his own dictates. The next morning the (forced) Comission was delivered to him, and the Assembly judged he was fully answered, and soe were in hopes they should without restraint proceed in dispatch of y^e publick affaires, but now M^r Bacon haveing a Comission, shews himselfe in his cullers, and hangs out his flagg of defiance (that is) Imprisoning severall loyall

M^r Bacons
2^d coming to
Towne Im-
prisoning
the Grand
Assembly.

the maner
M^r Bacons
obteyning
his Comis-
sion.

Gen^l. and his rabble vsed reproachfull words of the Govern^r (not calling to mind the eminent seruices he hath don, not onely in takeing prisoner y^e great Indian Emperour Opechauckenough, makeing tributary all the Neighbouring Indians, without the loss of any English blood, and maineteyning peace for many yeares amongst them) M^r Bacon alsoe with his guard forceably entred amongst the Burgesses, and demanded that severall p^{ersons} who had beene active in obeying the Govern^{rs} comands, should be made vncapable of beareing any publick office, and for that he was informed the Govern^r had lately supplicated his Ma^{ty} for aid to suppress the tumulto's, itt should be contradicted by the grand Assembly & Letters writt to y^e Kings Ma^{ty} in favour of his proceeings: he also required order against Cap^t Gardner (who then was his prisoner) for seventy pounds sterl. for his sloop, when in truth she was not worth thirty pounds. The Burgesses answered they were not Co^{rt} of Iudicature, and that the Courts were open from whome he might expect Justice. Att this he swore his vseuall Oath (God dam his blood) he would have their order for the 70^{li}. These thretnings and compul^{sons} being vpon them, the Assembly granted what ever he demanded, soe that itt was imagined he & his souldiers would martch out of Towne, yett they continued drinking and domineereing, the fronteere Countys being left with very little force, and the next day came the sad news that y^e Indians had that morning killed Eight people within thirty Myles of towne, in the familys of some of them that were with M^r Bacon, yett they hastned not away, but the next day haveing forced an Act of Indemnity, and the Assembly being att the Burgesses request disolued, M^r Bacon after fower days stay, marched out of Towne. Thus M^r Bacon haveing his Comision, men, Armes, & provision, gave out he would goe ag^t the Indians, but that (as itt now plainly appeareth) was the last of his thoughts, and in steed of y^t marched to Gloc^{ster} Rappahanock & those p^{arts}. and the

better to bring about his wicked designes, he takes away the horses, Armes & Amuniõn of those that were not affected to his illegal proceedeings, and Imprisoned Maj^r Lawrance Smith & Maj^r Tho. Hawkins (p[']sons of good courage & conduct & great sufferers by the Indians, who by Comission from the Govern^r were raiseing forces to goe against the Indians,) vpon pretence that they were raiseing men against him, (which is altogether false.)

Maj^r Smith
& Maj^r Hawkins
Imprisoned.

The Govern^r findeing M^r Bacon made noe dispatch out ag^t the Indians, in that a Month was neere expired since he had his Comission, and sad Complaints being made of the horrid murders dayly comitted by the Indians, att least a hundred being masacred since M^r Bacon assumed all the power to himselfe, The Govern^r therevpon went to Gloc^r County, being encouraged thereto by S^r Henry Chichley, who informed him of the loyalty, and readiness of the people of those p[']ts, and soe he resolved if he could possibly raise a force, to goe out ag^t the Indians. Att the Govern^{rs} being in Gloc^r the Inhabitants there Complained of the many insolencys comitted by M^r Bacons souldiers, of their being disarmed, by which they their wives & Children were expoased to the cruelty of the mercyless Indians, who were dayly seene in their plantaõns. Wherevpon they petitioned for protection, ag^t those insolencys of M^r Bacons men, and that those few Armes which was remaineing amongst them, might not be forced from them and they left helpless, Which peticon the Govern^r most willingly granted, Adding that M^r Bacon had noe other Comission, but with armed men he extracted from the Assembly, which in effect was not otherwise, then if a Theife should take his purse, and make him owne he gave itt freely.

The Govern^r
goes in
to Gloc^r.

Gloc^r
County
peticon.

Now M^r Bacon haveing att least 700 horse, and 600 foot well Armed, and two Months provision att the charge of the Country, Vnderstanding that the Govern^r was in Gloc^r where he would have what assistance, they there could possibly make, gave out that the Govern^r was raise

M^r Bacon
comes to y^e
Midle plan-
tacon.

ing forces ag^t him, thereby enrageing those y^t were with him, and haveing stopped all intelligence, he left the frontee County exposed to the fury of the Indians, and on the xxixth day of July came to the midle planta^con within seven Myles of James Towne, and haveing taken possession of the forts in James and yorke Rivers, sent severall p^tys of horse, to fetch in, and secure those that opposed his proceedings, and takeing example by the late Tyrant Crumwell, he most audaciously proclaimed the Govern^r and the severall p^rsons hereafter named, Traytors to the Cominality (viz^t) S^r Henry Chichley, Coll. Spencer, Coll. Bridger, Coll. Ludwell, M^r Ballard, M^r Bray, & Coll. Cole, all which are of the Councell, together with Coll. Kemp, Coll. Wormelye, Maj^r Beverley, Maj^r Lee, Coll. Claiburne, Coll. West, Maj^r Hawkins, Cap^t ffarrell, M^r Sherwood, M^r Whitacre, M^r Cluffe, M^r Page, & M^r Reede, All which p^rsons he required to surrender themselves to him att the Midle planta^con within fower days, vpon forfeiture of their estates, In the mean time M^r Ballard & M^r Bray were taken prisoners, onely M^r Ballard had liberty to walke about vpon his p^roll, (M^r Bacon as is conceived intending to pay him in p^rolls the 200^{li}, ster^l he owes him) This being noysed caused the Govern^r to withdraw to Accomack, and severall of the Geⁿt before named are alsoe withdrawne from the rage and fury of the tumult, but their estates are confiscated as delinq^{ts}.

On the first day of August, M^r Bacon confederateing with one M^r Bland a great fomentor of, and a very busy p^rson in these troubles, dispatched att least 300 men, vnder the cōmand of Bland and one Carner, to take the shipp in James River, viz^t the honnor & dorothea, John Moore Comander, and the Rebecca Cap^t Larrimore Comander, which shipp after some resistance were taken, & Cap^t Larrimore imprisoned for fyeri^{ng} ag^t them. On board which shipp they have taken severall great Guns from the fort att James Towne, and were fitted to take the shipp Rebecca,

Mr Bacon
declairs the
Govern^r &
severall
others Tray-
tors.

The takeing
of y^e shipp
in James
River.

Christopher Eveling Comander, not onely to prevent all intelligence for England, and for that Cap^t Eveling did tell M^r Bacon to his face, he was a Rebell, & named him Oliver Bacon, as alsoe for that itt was imagined the Govern^r & some of the above named Gent^l were aboard y^t ship, Cap^t Eveling haveing refused to p^mitt severall of M^r Bacons souldiers to come Armed on board, who were sent with his Warr^t to serch that ship, all which was crime enough in his opinion to make her a prize to him, if she had not timely escaped by some private informa^{ti}on which was given to Cap^t Eveling. M^r Bacon alsoe Issued forth his warrants, comanding ma[n^y] of the Geⁿt of the Country to attend on him, to whome after the oath of Allegience, he tendreth another Oath, that they sh[ould] not take vp or bare any Armes by any authority, either out of England or else where, ag^t him, but shall be true to him, & the Cominality, Which oath if any refuse to take, they are declaired Maligⁿants and their estates seized, p^ticularly S^r Henry Chichley was on the Eighth day of August for refuseing that oath, taken prisoner, and he and severall others sent to Mehickson fort.

S^r Henry
Chichley Im
prisoned.

M^r Bacon did that day himselfe take possession of the Greene Spring, and the Govern^{rs} estate there, And the estate of Maj^r Gen^l Smith, Thomas Ludwell Esq^r and Coll. parke, are alsoe seized.

The Gov-
ern^rs estate
seized.

Dureing M^r Bacons thus Lording itt, and seizeing the estates of such as he terms Traytors to the Cominality, in which & in revelling & drinkeing most of his forces were employed, The Indians takeing aduantage of these civill comotions, have comitted many horred murders, in most part of the Country, which is altogether vnable to resist them, theire Armes & Amuni^{ti}on being seized by Mr Bacons rabble for feere they should be employed ag^t him, and dayly murders were comitted not onely in the fronteere Countys, but in y^e inward Countys, for within the last ffive days before Cap^t Evelings Sayleing, ffifteene of the English

were cruelly murdered in Gloc^r County, seven within fower myles of Tindalls point, & the other Eight neere the Court howse there, some they roast alive, offering their flesh to such English prison^{rs} as they keepe languishing by a lingering death, pulling their nayles of, makeing holes, and sticking feathers in their flesh, some they ripp open, and make run their gutts round trees, with such like barbarous crueltyes.

The cruelty
of y^e In-
dians.

The sad con-
dition of y^e
Country.

Thus is that Country by the rashness of a p^ruerce man expoased to ruin, and is in a most calamitious & confused condicon, lyeing open to the cruelty of the saluage Indians, who in all likelyhood had before now beene totally subiected had not an insulting rabble prevented, who account the Law their manacles, and like swine turne all into disorder & become insolent, abuse all in authority (as a com^on drunkard being lately comitted to the stocks thretned the Magistrate to raise a Mutiny) throwing off all allegience to his most sacred Ma^{ty} and the Crowne of England, and dareingly say they will have the dutch to trade thither, with such like expressions. God in mercy divert the Issues of Warr which much thretneth y^t Country, by the Indians & the rabbles killing vp, & destroying the stocks of Cattell, pulling downe the Corne field fences, turneing their horses in, and such like Outrages, soe that vnless his sacred Ma^{ty} doe speedily send a considerable supplye of men, Armes, Amuni^on, & provision, there is great cause to feere the loss of that once hopefull Country, which is not able long to resist the cruelty of the Indians or rebellion of the Vulgar.

THE OPINION OF THE COUNCELL OF VIRGINIA, CONCERNING
M^r BACONS PROCEEDEINGS.

We being required (by the R^t hon^{ble} his Ma^{ties} Govern^r & Cap^t Gen^l of Virginia) as his Ma^{ties} Councell here, to declair our Judgments, concerning the p^rceedeings of M^r Bacon, by beateing of drums, raiseing of men, and marching with them, not onely without Comission, but contrary to the Govern^{rs} comands, we being all knowing of his hon^{rs} diverse admonitions & comands to the said M^r Bacon to forbear his rash and vnlawfull p^rceedeings, and of his gracious p^r dons for what had beene past, vpon his acknowledgment, All which the said Bacon hath slighted and contemned, & doth still continue in opposi^on to his most sacred Ma^{ties} Governem^t & y^e Laws, to the great endaingering the vtter ruin of this his Ma^{ties} Country & all the inhabitants here. We can not out of duty to God, his most sacred Ma^{ty} & this Country, but declair & itt is our vnanimous opinions, that the said M^r Bacons p^rceedeings, are, & alwaies have beene rash, illegall, vnwarrantable, and most rebellious, and consequently destructive to all governm^t & Laws, he haveing not onely endeavoured to seduce & draw his most sacred Ma^{ties} good subiects from their duty and allegience, but by diverse scandalous pap^s by him sent about the Country, endeauoring to traduce his Ma^{ties} Govern^r here, with many false and scandalous imputa^ons, when we and all his Ma^{ties} good subiects in this whole Country are senceable of the integrity, constant care, and dilligence which have manifestly beene found in him att all times in dischargeing his duties to his most sacred Ma^{ty} and the wellfare and preseruac^on of this Country which without devine assistance had proved insupportable to him in this vnfortunately troublesome coniuncture of

affaires, We doe therefore humbly conceive y^t itt is necessary that his Ma^{ties} Govern^r & Cap^t Gen^{ll} of Virg^a by his declaracōn to all y^e Inhab^{ts} of this his Ma^{ties} Colony, doe declair the said M^r Bacon, his aiders, assisters, & abettors, Rebels to his most sacred Ma^{ty} & this Country, and we hope and doubt not, but with his sacred Ma^{ties} Govern^r & vs his Ma^{ties} Councell, all his Ma^{ties} loyall subiects, within this Colony will Joyne in y^e p^rsecucōn of him & them, according to the nature of their offences, dated vnder our hands y^e 29th day of May A^o dom̃ 1676:

PHILL LUDWELL
JAMES DRAY
WILL^m COLE

HENRY CHICHLEY.
NATH^l BACON.
THOMAS SWANN.
THOMAS BALLARD.

The declaracōn and Remonstrance of S^r William Berkeley his most sacred Ma^{ties} Govern^r & Cap^t Gen^{ll} of Virginia.

Sheweth That about the yeare 1660 Coll. Mathews the then Govern^r dyed and then in consideraōn of the seruice I had don the Country, in defending them from, and destroying great numbers of the Indians, without the loss of three men, in all the time that warr lasted, and in contemplaōn of the equall and vncorrupt Justice I had distributed to all men, Not onely the Assembly but the vnanimous votes of all the Country, concurred to make me Govern^r in a time, when if the Rebels in England had prevailed, I had certainly dyed for accepting itt, 'twas Gen^l. an vnfortunate Love, shewed to me, for to shew myselfe gratefull for this, I was willing to accept of this Governement againe, when by my gracious Kings favour I might have had other places much more proffitable, and lesse toylesome then this hath beene. Since that time y^t I returned into the Country, I call the great God, Judge of all things in heaven and earth to wittness, that I doe not know of any thing relateive to this Country, wherein I have acted vniustly, corruptly, or negligently, in distributeing equall Justice to all men, &

takeing all possible care to preserue their proprietyes, & defend them from their barbarous enimies.

But for all this, p'happs I have erred in things I know not of, if I have I am soe conscious of humane frailty, & my owne defects, y^t I will not onely acknowledge them, but repent of, and amend them, and not like the Rebells Bacon p'sist in an error, onely because I have comitted itt, and tells me in diverse of his Letters that itt is not for his honnor to confess a fault, but I am of opinion y^t itt is onely for divells to be incorrigable, & men of principles like y^e worst of divells, and these he hath, if truth be reported to me, of diverse of his expressions of Atheisme, tending to take away all Religion and Laws.

And now I will state the Question betwixt me as a Govern^r and M^r Bacon, and say that if any enimies should invade England, any Councell^r Justice of peace, or other inferiour officer, might raise what forces they could to protect his Ma^{ties} subiects, But I say againe, if after the Kings knowledge of this inuasion, any the greatest peere of England, should raise forces ag^t the kings p'hibi^{ti}on this would be now, & ever was in all ages & Na^{ti}ons accompted treason. Nay I will goe further, that though this peere was truly zealous for the preseruati^on of his King, & subiects, and had better & greater abillitys then all the rest of his fellow subiects, to doe his King and Country seruice, yett if the King (though by false informa^{ti}on) should suspect the contrary, itt were treason in this Noble peere to p'ceed after the King's prohibi^{ti}on, and for the truth of this I appeale to all the laws of England, and the Laws and constitutions of all other Na^{ti}ons in the world, And yett further itt is declaired by this P^{ar}liament that the takeing vp Armes for the King & P^{ar}liament is treason, for the event shewed that what ever the pretence was to seduce ignorant & well affected people, yett the end was ruinous both to King & people, as this will be if not prevented, I doe therefore againe declair that Bacon proceeding ag^t all Laws of all Nations modern &

ancient, is Rebell to his sacred Ma^{ty} and this Country, nor will I insist vpon the sweareing of men to live & dye together, which is treason by the very words of the Law.

Now my friends I have lived 34 yeares amongst you, as vncorrupt and dilligent as ever Govern^r was, Bacon is a man of two yeares amongst you, his p^{er}son and qualities vnknowne to most of you, & to all men else, by any vertuous action y^t ever I heard of, And that very action which he boasts of, was sickly & fooleishly, & as I am informed treacherously carried to the dishonnor of the English Na^{ti}on, yett in itt, he lost more men then I did in three yeares Warr, and by y^e grace of God will putt myselfe to the same daingers & troubles againe when I have brought Bacon to acknowledge the Laws are above him, and I doubt not but by God's assistance to have better success then Bacon hath had, the reason of my hopes are, that I will take Councell of wiser men then my selfe, but M^r Bacon hath none about him, but the lowest of the people.

Yett I must further enlarge, that I cannot without your helpe, doe any thinge in this but dye in defence of my King, his laws, & subiects, which I will cheerefully doe, though alone I doe itt, and considering my poore fortunes, I can not leave my poore Wife and friends a better legacy then by dyeing for my King & you: for his sacred Ma^{ty} will easeily distinguish betweene M^r Bacons actions & myne, and Kinges have long Armes, either to reward or punish.

Now after all this, if M^r Bacon can shew one president or example where such actings in any Na^{ti}on what ever, was approved of, I will mediate with the King and you for a p^{er}don, and excuce for him, but I can shew him an hundred examples where brave & great men have beene putt to death for gaineing Victorys ag^t y^e Comand of their Superiors.

Lastly my most assured ffrinds I would have preserued those Indians that I knew were howerly att our mercy, to have beene our spyes and intelligence, to finde out our

bloody enimies, but as soone as I had the least intelligence that they alsoe were trecherous enimies, I gave out Comissions to distroy y^m all as the Comissions themselues will speake itt.

To conclude, I have don what was possible both to friend and enemy, have granted M^r Bacon three pardons, which he hath scornefully reiecte, suppoaseing himselfe stronger to subuert then I and you to maineteyne the Laws, by which onely and Gods assisting grace and mercy, all men must hope for peace and safety. I will add noe more though much more is still remaineing to Justifie me & condemne M^r Bacon, but to desier that this declaracōn may be read in every County Co^{rt} in the Country, and that a Court be presently called to doe itt, before the Assembly meet, That your approbaōn or dissatisfaction of this declaracōn may be knowne to all y^e Country, and the Kings Councill to whose most revered Judgments itt is submitted, Giuen y^e xxixth day of May, a happy day in the xxviiith yeare of his most sacred Ma^{ties} Reigne, Charles the second, who God grant long & prosperously to Reigne, and lett all his good subjects say Amen.

WILLIAM BERKELEY.

COP^y OF GLOC^{ks} COUNTYS PETITION.

To the R^t Hon^{ble} S^r William Berkeley Kn^t Govern^r and Cap^t Gen^{ll} of Virginia. The humble petiōn of the County of Gloc^{ks}

MOST HUMBLY SHEWETH

That whereas yo^r pet^{rs} have alwaies beene ready to give all due and Just obedience to all Laws, especially the late Laws for secureing our Neighbours the fronteeres of this

County from the incursions of the barbarous Indians, and for the totall distruc̃on of them, by our speedy raising men, horses, Armes, and provisions according as the Laws required, since which time M^r Nathaniell Bacon Jun^r haveing sent severall warrants to this County, for the impressing more men, horses, and Armes grounded (as he pretends) vpon a Comission from yo^r hon^r to be Gen^l of all the forces in Virg^a ag^t the Indians, which Comission (although we have never seene, or heard published) we have not failed to complye with, as alsoe with his the said M^r Bacons Warr^{ts} in hopes y^t itt tended onely to the distruc̃on of the com̃on Enimy.

Nevertheless M^r Bacon for what reason we know not, lately came downe into this County, with a considerable number of Armed men, and horses, who went into all p^ts of our County and tooke what horses and Armes they pleased, not spareing those horses were pressed as baggage horses, according to the Law, and not onely soe, but did in many places behave them selues very rudely both in words and actions, to the great disturbance of the peace of this County, and we have just reason to feere of the Country in Gennerall.

For the confirmãon of which we have hereto informe yo^r hon^r which will be p^ved by some of the best men of our County, that vpon tuesday the xviiith day of this instant July, one Mathew Gale one of M^r Bacons cheif Comanders, being in this County, att some place where he mett Coll. Mathew Kemp Comander of all the horse in this County, presented his pistol att him, bid him stand att severall times, or else he assured him, with all the execrable oaths, he could imagine, he would pistoll him, which we humbly conceive, is contrary to all Law, either civill or military. Not long after, the said Gale takeing some offence, att M^r John Man one of the Comissioners of this County, without any occasion given, did before severall p^rsons of good credit, assure the said Maⁿ & bound itt with many feerefull

Oaths, as God damne his blood, sink him, and rott him, he would ruin him, and further y^t he would goe to his Gen^l Bacon and in a very short time would returne with an hundred horse, and ruin the County.

Now haveing duly and feerefully considered these things, and not being able to accuse our selues of any crime, we doe here openly to all well minded, and vnbiased people, appeale whither for the security of our familys and estates, we have not just reason to complaine, And most humbly pray that yo^r hon^r would take itt into yo^r serious consideration, and be pleased to take some course to putt vs into a condiçon, to defend our selues ag^t any more of these outrages, and we doe assure yo^r hon^r that we shall be alwaies ready to obey yo^r hon^{rs} comands, either in order to the speedy destroying our co^mon Enemy, and securing our Neighbours from their bloody outrages, to the vtmost of our power, but shall further pray for yo^r hono^{rs} health & prosperity, and y^e peace & wellfare of this att present distracted Country.

THE GOVERN^{rs} ANSWERE TO Y^r PETICON:

This peticon is most willingly granted, and I further declair that I am bound to grant itt, for the allegience I owe to his Ma^{ty} and the care he hath imposed on me to preserue his loyall subiects from all outrages & oppressions, to which they have beene lately too much submitted by the Tyranny & vsurpaçon of Nath^l Bacon Jun^r who never had any Comission from me, but what with armed men, he extracted from the Assembly, which in effect is noe more then if a Theife should take my purse, and make me owne I gave itt him freely, Soe that in effect his Comission

what ever itt is, is voyd in Law and nature, & to be looked vpon as noe value.

Signed thus

WILLIAM BERKELEY

Gov^r of Virg^a vnder his sacred Ma^{ty}

Vera Cop' Test

W^m SHERWOOD.

[Superscribed]

For the R^t Hon^{ble} S^r JOSEPH WILLIAMSON

Kn^t one of his Ma^{ties} principall

Sec^{rys} of State :

&c.

COPY OF M^r BACONS DECLARACON IN Y^r NAME OF Y^r
PEOPLE JULY 30th 1676.

THE DECLARACON OF Y^r PEOPLE.

1st For haveing vpon specious pretences of publiqe works raised greate vniust taxes vpon the Comonality for y^e advancement of private favorites & other sinister ends, but noe visible effects in any measure adequate, For not haveing dureing this long time of his Gou'nem^t in any measure aduanced this hopefull Colony either by fortificacons Townes or Trade.

2^d For haveing abused & rendred contemptable the Magistrates of Justice, by aduanceing to places of Judicature, scandalous and Ignorant favorites.

3. For haveing wronged his Ma^{ties} prerogative & interest, by assumeing Monopolony of y^e Beaver trade, & for haveing in y^t vniust gaine betrayed & sold his Ma^{ties} Country & y^e lives of his loyall subiects, to the barbarous heathen.

4. For haveing, protected, favoured, & Imboldned the Indians ag^t his Ma^{ties} loyall subiects, never contriveing,

requiring, or appointing any due or prop' meanes of satisfaction for their many Invasions, robberies, & murders committed vpon vs.

5. For having when the Army of English, was just vpon y^e track of those Indians, who now in all places burne, spoyle, murder & when we might with ease have destroyed y^m who then were in open hostility, for then having expressly countermanded, & sent back our Army, by passing his word for y^e peaceable demeanour of y^e said Indians, who immediately p^rsecuted their evill intentions, committing horred murders & robberies in all places, being p^rected by y^e said ingagem^t & word past of him y^e said S^r W^m Berkeley, having ruined & laid desolate a greate part of his Ma^{ties} Country, & have now drawne y^m selues into such obscure & remote places, & are by their success soe imboldned & confirmed, by their confederacy soe strengthened y^t y^e cries of blood are in all places, & the terror, & consternation of y^e people soe greate, are now become, not onely a difficult, but a very formidable enemy, who might att first with ease haue bene destroyed.

6th And lately when vpon y^e loud outcries of blood y^e Assembly had with all care raised & framed an Army for the preventing of further mischeife & safeguard of this his Ma^{ties} Colony.

7th For having with onely y^e privacy of some few favorites, wthout acquainting the people, onely by the alteracon of a figure, forged a Comission, by we know not what hand, not onely without, but even ag^t the consent of y^e people, for the raising & effecting civill warr & destruction, which being happily & without blood shed prevented, for having the second time attempted y^e same, thereby calling downe our forces from the defence of y^e fronteeres & most weekly exposed places.

8. For the prevencon of civill mischeife & ruin amongst ourselues, whilst y^e barbarous enemy in all places did invade, murder & spoyle vs, his ma^{ties} most faithfull subiects.

Of this & the aforesaid Articles we accuse S^r William Berkeley as guilty of each & eu^y one of the same, and as one who hath traiterously attempted, violated & Iniured his Ma^{ties} interest here, by a loss of a greate part of this his Colony & many of his faithfull. loyall subiects, by him betrayed & in a barbarous & shamefull manner expoased to the Incursions & murther of y^e heathen, And we doe further declare these y^e ensueing p[']sons in this list, to have beene his wicked & pernicious counsell^{rs} Confederates, aiders, and assisters ag^t y^e Comonality in these our Civill comotions.

S^r Henry Chichley
L^t Coll. Christop^r Wormeley
Phillip Ludwell
Rob^t Beverley
Ri: Lee
Tho: Ballard
W^m Cole
Rich^d Whitacre

Nich. Spencer
Joseph Bridger
W^m Claiburne Jun^r
Tho. Hawkins
W^m Sherwood
Joⁿ Page Clerke
Joⁿ Cluffe Clerke

John West:—Hubert Farrell:—Tho. Reade—Math. Kempe.

And we doe further demand y^t y^e said S^r W^m Berkeley with all y^e p[']sons in this list be forthwith delivered vp or surrender y^mselues within fower days after the notice hereof, Or otherwise we declare as followeth.

That in whatsoever place, howse, or ship, any of y^e said p[']sons shall reside, be hidd, or p[']tected, we declaire y^e owners, Masters or Inhabitants of y^e said places, to be confederates & trayters to y^e people & the estates of y^m is alsoe of all y^e aforesaid p[']sons to be confiscated, & this we the Comons of Virg^a doe declare, desiering a firme vnion amongst our selues that we may joyntly & with one accord defend our selues ag^t the co^mon Enimy, & lett not y^e faults of y^e guilty be y^e reproach of y^e inocent, or y^e faults or crimes of y^e oppress^{rs} deuide & sep[']ate vs who have suffered by their oppressions.

These are therefore in his ma^{ties} name to co^mand you

forthwith to seize y^e p'sons above men^coed as Trayters to y^e King & Country & them to bring to Midle plantacon, & there to secure y^m vntill further order, and in case of opposi^con, if you want any further assistance you are forthwith to demand itt in y^e name of y^e people in all y^e Counties of Virg^a

NATH. BACON

Gen^l by Consent of y^e people.

Vera Cop^e Test.

W^m SHERWOOD.

GOVERNOR DONGAN TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR R^{LL} HIGH^{SS}

A report haueing passed ; & as some say Governo^r penn was the Author ; that he was to purchase this province ; I thought myselfe obliged to giue y^r R^{ll} High^{ss} an account of it. This province for the extent of it, is the most flourishing, & most improueable of any in these parts of America ; the Revenue by the improuement I have made in the Quittrents the addition of towns gotten from o^r neighboring Colonies, with the Customes & Excise, will be very considerable & every year more, by reason the inhabitants are very industrious & encrease much in people & shipping.

I haue written to M^r Ffrowd concerning a post office in America w^{ch} besides the advantage to these parts will augment y^r R^{ll} High^{ss} revenue by putting the letters into the post office, it is much desired by all, & if it be allowed I hope y^r R^{ll} High^{ss} will let me haue the management of it I haue perswaded all the considerable Indians, the Maquas, Sineques, Onondages, Cayouges, Oneydes to give up their lands to y^r Roy^{ll} High^{ss}. By this means many more Beavers will be brought if y^r R^{ll} High^{ss} pleas to put a tradeing

howse on this side of the great Lake as the french haue on the other, w^{ch} keeps much Beaver from comeing hither, they cannot take it ill because it is in y^r R^l High^{sses} Govern^t & we nearer to it by many miles then they are.

I haue sent over a Maqua who is a Christian, he had a very great desire to see the great Sachem beyond the great lake, meaning your Royall Highness. I begg of y^r R^l High^{ss} to order that som care may be taken of him, untill he returnes for this Country.

I humbly begg of your R^l High^{ss} to consider whether 400^l p' An: & Captains pay will maintaine me; haueing received nothing more except 30 odd pounds by the condemnation of an Unfree Bottom & som Corn in arrears for Quitt rents, w^{ch} I am told S^r Edmond Andross never made to amount to thirty pounds yearly.

I am in all truth,

Y^r Royall Highnesses
most humble &
most obedient serv^t

THO DONGAN.

N. YORK Deceb^r 9th 1684.

A NARRATIVE OF Y^e MISERIES OF NEW ENGLAND BY REASON
OF AN ARBITRARY GOVERNMT ERECTED THERE.

That a Colony so Considerable as New England is, shd be discouraged is not for y^e Honour & Interest of y^e English Nation; in as much as y^e People there are generally sober, Industrious, well discipln'd, & apt for Martial Affairs; so y^t he y^t is Sovereign of New England, may by means thereof (wn he pleaseth) be Emperour of America: Nevertheless y^e whole English Interest in y^t Territory has been of late in apparent danger of being lost & ruined & the miseries of y^t People, by an Arbitrary Governm^t erected amongst y^m have been beyond exp^{ss}ion great.

The original of all w^{ch} has been y^e Quo Warranto's issued out against their Charter. by means whereof they have been deprived of their antient Rights & Priviledges. A. D. 1683-9.

As for y^e Massachusetts Colony (whose Patent beareth date from y^e year 1628) There was in y^e year 1683. a Quo Warranto; & after y^t in y^e year 1684. a writ of Scire facias agst y^m, & they were required to make their Appearance at Westminster in October w^{ch} they knew nothing of till y^e month before, so y^t it was impossible for y^m to answer at y^e time appointed; yet Judgment was entrd against them.

Plymouth Colony, after they had enjoyed their first Governmt above 60 years (without so much as a prtence of misgovernmt alledged) had all their Priviledges at once taken from y^m There was a Quo Warranto agst Conecticot Colony (whose Charter was granted to y^m by K. Charles y^e 2^d) only Letters were sent to y^m in y^e K's name signifying that (in case they did resign their Charter) they shd take their choice, of being under New York or Boston; several of y^e magistrates their returned a most humble & supplicatory Answer praying, That their former Governmt might still continue, but that if it must be taken from y^m they had rather be under Boston yⁿ New York: This was by some at Court interpreted a Resignation of their Charter, & a commission was sent to S^r Edmund Andross, who went wth some armed Attendants to Hartford (their principal Town) & declared their Charter & former Governmt to be void. As for Road-Island, they submitted ymselves to his Majesties Pleasure.

Before these changes happened New England was of all y^e foreign Plantations (their Enemies ymselves being Judges) y^e most flourishing & desirable.

But their Charters being all (one way or other) declared to be void & insignificant, it was an easy matter to erect a French Governmt in y^t part of y^e K's Dominions, (no doubt intended by y^e evil counsellors) as a specimen of w^t was design'd to be here in England, as soon as y^e times w^d bear

it. Accordingly S^r Edmund Andross (a Guernsey man) was pitched on as a fit Instrumt to be made use of, & a most illegal Commission given him, bearing date June 3. 1686, by w^{ch} he (wth four of his Council perhaps all of 'em his absolute devotees) are empowered to make Laws & raise moneys on y^e K's Subjects without any Parliamt, Assembly, or consent of y^e People.

It was thought by wise men, y^t y^e Remembrance of Dudley & Empson, who were in y^e days of K. Henry y^e 8th executed for acting by a like Commission, w^d have deterred y^m from doing so. But it did not, for Laws are made by a few of y^m, & indeed w^t they please. nor are they Printed, as was the custom in y^e former Governmts, so y^t y^e People are at a great loss to know w^t is Law, & w^t not. Only one Law they are sensible of, wch doth prohibit all Town Meetings, excepting on a certain day once a year. Whereas y^e Inhabitants have occasion to meet once a month, sometimes every week, for Relief of y^e Poor, or other Town Affairs. But it is easier to penetrate into y^e design of y^s Law, w^{ch} was (no Question) to keep y^m in every town from complaining to England of y^e Oppression they are under: And (as Laws have been established) so moneys have been raised by y^e Governmt in a most illegal & Arbitrary way, without any consent of y^e People. S^r Edm^d Andross caused a Tax to be levied of a Penny in a Pound on all y^e Towns then under his Governmt! And wⁿ at Ipswich & other places y^e Select Men (as they are there stiled) voted that in as much as it was agst y^e common priviledges of English Subjects to have money raised without their own Consent in an Assembly, or Parliamt, That therefore they w^d petition y^e K. for liberty of an Assembly before they made any Rates; y^e s^d S^r Edm^d Andross caused y^m to be imprisoned & fined, some 20^{li} some 30^{li} some 50^{li} as y^e Judges by him instructed, shd see meet to determine; Yea, & several Gentlemen in y^e Country were imprisoned & bound to their good Behaviour upon meer suspicion, yt they did encourage

their neighbours not to comply with these Arbitrary Proceedings. And y^t so they might be sure to effect their pernicious designs, they have caused Juries to be picked of men who are not of y^e Vicinity, & some of ym meer Strangers in y^e Country, & no Freeholders, w^{ch} actings are highly Illegal. One of y^e former Magistrates was committed to Prison without any crimes laid to his charge, & there kept half a year wthout any fault & tho' he petitioned for a Habeas Corpus, it was deny'd him; also inferiour officers have extorted w^t Fees they please to demand, contrary to all Rules of Reason & Justice. They make poor Widows & Fatherless pay 50s. for the Probate of a Will, w^{ch} under y^e former easier Governmt w^d not have been a tenth part so much. Six persons who had been illegally imprison'd were forced to give y^e officers 117l. wⁿ as upon computation, they found y^t here in England their fees w^d not have amounted to 10^l in all. And yet these things (tho' bad enough) are but a very small part of y^e misery w^{ch} y^t poor people have been groaning under, since they have been governd by a Despotick & Absolute Power. For their new Masters tell y^m, y^t their Charter being gone, their Title to their Lands & Estates is gone therewth, & y^t all is y^e K's, & y^t they represent y^e K. & y^t therefore all Persons must take Patents from y^m & give w^t they see meet to impose, y^t so they may enjoy y^e Houses w^{ch} their own hands have built, & y^e lands, w^{ch} at vast charges in subduing a Wilderness, they have for many years had a rightfull Possession of as ever any People in y^e World had, or can have: Accordingly y^e Governour ordered y^e Lands belonging to some in Charles Town to be measured out, & given to his Creatures, & Writs of Intrusion to be issued out agst others. And y^e Commons belonging to several Towns have been given to some of y^e Governours Council who begged y^m to y^e impoverishing, if not utter ruining of whole Tounship's. And when an Island belonging to y^e Toun of Plimouth was petitioned away from y^m by one Nathaniel Clark

(w^m S^r Edm^d Andross made his Property,) because y^e Agents of y^e s^d Toun obtained a voluntary Subscription to maintain their Title at Law, they were cōpelled to come not only out of their own County, but Colony, to Boston to answer there as Criminals at y^e next Assizes, & bound to their good behaviour: The officers in y^e mean time extorting 3l. per man for Fees. These were y^e miserable effects of New England's being deprived of their Charters, & wth y^m of their English Liberties. They have not been altogether negligent as to endeavours to obtain some relief in their sorrowful Bondage for several Gentlemen desired Increase Mather, y^e Rector of y^e Colledge at Cambridge in New England to undertake a Voyge, for England to see w^t might be done for his distressed Country, w^{ch} motion he complied wth, & in June y^e 1st 1688. he had y^e favour to wait on y^e K. & privately to acquaint him wth y^e enslaved & perishing estate of his Subjects in New England: The K. was very gracious & kind in his expressions; then & often after promising to give y^m ease as to their Complaints & Fears: Amongst other things y^e s^d Mather caused a Petition from y^e Toun of Cambridge in New-England to be humbly presented to his Majesty; w^{ch} because it doth express y^e deplorable condition of y^t People, it shall be here inserted.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Petition & Address of John Gibson aged about 87. & George Willow, aged about 86 years; as also on y^e behalf of their neighbours y^e Inhabitants of Cambridge in New England.

In Most humble wise sheweth,: That your Majestys good Subjects, wth much hard labour & great disbursemts, have subdued a Wilderness, built our Houses & planted

Orchards, being encouraged by o^r indubitable right to. y^e soil by y^e Royal Charter granted unto y^e First Plantors, together wth o^r Purchase of y^e Natives; as also by sundry Letters & declarations sent to y^e late Governour & Company from his late Majesty, y^{or} Royal Brother, assuring us of y^e full Enjoyment of o^r Properties & Possessions, as is more especilly contained in y^e declaration sent when y^e Quo Warranto was issued out agst or Charter.

But we are necessitated to make y^s o^r moan & complaint to y^{or} Excellent Majesty for y^t o^r Title is now questioned to o^r Lands by us quietly possessed for near 60 years & wth out w^{ch} we cannot subsist. Our humble Address to o^r Governour S^r Edm^d Andross shewing o^r just Title, long & peacable possession, together with o^r Claim of y^e Benefit of y^r Majes^{ties} Letters & Declarations, assuring all y^r good Subjects y^t they shall not be molested in their Properties & Possessions, not availing.

Royal Sir, We are a poor People, & have no way to procure Money to defend o^r cause in y^e Law; nor know we of friends at Court, & y^rfore unto y^r Royal Majesty, as y^e publick Father of all y^r Subjects, do we make y^s o^r humble Address for Relief, beseeching y^r Majesty graciously to pass y^r Royal Act for y^e Confirmation of y^r Majesty's Subjects here in o^r Possessions to us derived from o^r late Governour & Company of y^s y^r Majesty's Colony; We now humbly cast orselves, & distressed condition of or Wives & Children at y^r Majesty's Feet, & conclude wth y^e saying of Queen Esther, if we Perish, we Perish. Thus y^t Petition.

Besides y^s, Increase Mather wth two New-England Gentlemen presented a Petition & humble proposals to y^e K. wherein they prayed y^t y^e Right w^{ch} they had in their Estates before y^e Governmt was changed, might be confirmed.* And y^t no Laws might be made, or Moneys raised wthout

* August 10th, 1689. III. Palfrey, 565.

an Assembly, wth sundry other particulars; w^{ch} y^e K. referred to a Committee for Foreign Plantations, who order y^m into y^e hands of y^e Attorney General to make his Report. The Clerk Will Blathwait sent to y^e Attorney General a Copy wherein y^e essential proposal of an Assembly was wholly left out. And being spoke to about it, he s^d y^e Earl of Sunderland blotted out y^t wth his own hand; likewise a Solicitor in y^s cause, related y^t y^e s^d Earl of Sunderland affirmed to him y^t it was by his Advice y^t y^e K. had given a Commission to S^r Edm^d Andross to raise Moneys w^{thout} an Assembly, & y^t he knew y^e K. wd never consent to an Alteration, nor w^d he propose it to his Majesty. When of late all Charters were restored to England it was highly rational for New England to Expect y^e like, for if it be an illegal & unjust thing to deprive good Subjects here of their Ancient Rights & Liberties, it cannot be consistent wth Justice & Equity to deal so wth those y^t are far of. Applications therefore were made to y^e K. & to some Ministers of State. It was urged y^t if a Foreign Prince or State shd during y^e present Troubles send a Frigate to New England, & promise to protect y^m as under former Governmt, it w^d be an unconquerable temptation; Yet no Restoration of Charters w^d be granted to New England w^{ch} opened y^e eyes of some thinking men: Thus hath New England been dealt wth. This hath been, & still is y^e bleeding State of y^t Country.

They cannot but hope y^t England will send y^m speedy Relief. especially cōsidering y^t thro' y^e ill Conduct of their present Rulers, y^e French Indians are (as y^e late Vessels from thence inform) beginning their cruel Butcheries amongst y^e English in those parts; And many have fear y^t there is a design to deliver y^t Country into y^e Hands of y^e French K. except his Royal Highness y^e Prince of Orange, w^m a divine hand has raised up to deliver y^e Oppressed, shall happily & speedily prevent it.

Waldo Patent.

AT THE COURT AT KENSINGTON THE 10TH DAY OF
AUGUST, 1732.

PRESENT

The Queens Most Excellent Majesty Guardian of the Kingdom of Great Britain, and His Majestys Lieutenant within the same.

His Royal Highness }	Duke of Kent
the Prince of Wales }	Earl of Scarborough
Lord Chancellor	Lord Hervey
Lord President	Lord Delaware
Lord Chamberlain	M ^r Chancellor of the Exchequer

Upon reading at the Board a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs dated the 2^d of this Instant in the Words following — viz —

“ In Obedience to His Majestys Orders in Council of the 10th day of April 1730, and the 8th day of April 1731, referring to this Committee the humble Petition of Samuel Waldo of Boston in His Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay Merchant, in behalf of himself and of Elisha Cooke Esq^r., and others, and also the humble Petition of Sir Bibye Lake Bart. and others ; The Lords of the Committee did some time since meet, and take the same into consideration. Both which Petitions set forth, *int^r alia*, the Right of the Petitioners to several tracts of Land lying between the Rivers of Kennebeck and S^t Croix, in that part of His Majestys Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, lying adjacent to His Majestys Province of Nova Scotia, which they claimed some by purchase from the Indian Saggamores, or Sachams, allowed of and approved by the General Court for the Government of the Massachusetts Province, and others by Grant from the Council established at Plymouth for the Planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England in America, ratified and confirmed by the several Charters granted to the

Subjects of the said Province, and further setting forth, that the Petitioners and their Ancestors had been ever since the time of such their purchases, and Grants, in the Enjoyment and Possession of the said Lands, and from time to time laid out very considerable Sums of Money in settling and improving the same, and in erecting Buildings thereon, and Houses of Defence, and in defending the same from the Indians, and had a Magistrate and Courts of Justice established amongst 'em, But which Settlements and Improvements were broke up and destroyed by the frequent Wars with the Indians, Saving only as to some Block houses of Defence, which the Indians were not able to take, whereby the Pet^{rs} and their Ancestors had sustained many and great Losses; — Notwithstanding which, on every Peace with the Indians, they had always endeavoured to effectuate the settlement of the said Premises, and particularly on the conclusion of the last War with the Indians, which broke out in or about the years 1722 or 1723, the Petitioners were very vigorously pushing forwards the settling and bringing these Lands into a Capacity of receiving and securing a Number of Inhabitants, and being intent and resolved on continuing and finishing their said Settlements with the utmost Dispatch they had actually laid out several Townships, and provided a Minister, and had a hundred and Twenty Families ready to go and settle one of the said intended Towns — But further setting forth, That to their great surprize, Disappointment and Loss, and to the great prejudice of the Province, and His Majestys Interest there, they had met with interruption therein from David Dunbar Esq^r, Surveyor General of His Majestys Woods in America, who had forbid the Petitioners going on with their said Settlements, and informed them that he could not permit their going on with the same on any other Terms but their taking Grants from him in the same manner as if they had not already any Title thereto, pretending he had some instructions or a Commis-

sion from His Majesty to make Settlements within the Limits of the Petitioners Lands, and in other Places in the Eastern Parts of the said Province of the Massachusets Bay, and to erect the same into a Seperate Government from that Province, although the same is included in the Charter granted to the Subjects of the said Province, and notwithstanding M^r. Dunbar had been waited on, and made fully acquainted with the Petitioners Title to their said Lands and Premises, Yet he insisted he should enter upon and make Settlements therein, unless His Majesty should forbid or restrain him therefrom —

“The Petitioners therefore, by their said Petitions, prayed, that His Majesty would be pleased to send the necessary Orders or Instructions to the said David Dunbarr not to intermeddle with the Tracts of Land to which the Petitioners were so entituled, or molest them therein, and that he should not interrupt, obstruct or disturb the Petitioners their Tenants and Agents in carrying on their Settlements on any pretence what soever, that so the Petitioners might be quieted in the Possession thereof, under the Government of His Majestys Province of the Massachusets Bay, and be at liberty to proceed in settling the Premises without molestation. —

“And the Lords of the Committee thought it proper, before they formed any opinion on the said Petitions, to refer them to the Lords Commiss^{rs} for Trade and Plantations, with Directions that they should consider the same, and receive the Opinion of His Majestys Attorney and Sollicitor General thereon, and afterwards make report to this Committee of the whole matter, with what they conceived proper to be done thereupon ; —

“That when the said Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations received the said Directions, they apprehended it necessary for their better Information in the Premises, to call the Agent for the said Province before them, and to draw up a State of a Case, setting forth the

nature of the Claim which the People of the Province had to the Lands in Question, and how little had been done by the Province for the Defence or improvement of the said Country, and also stating the Changes that had happened in this District in point of Dominion by the Conquest which the French made over it in 1696, and by the Reconquest thereof in the year 1710 by the English under General Nicholson; and to which Case the said Lords Commissioners subjoined the following Quærys, which with the said two Petitions they referred to the Consideration of His Majestys Attorney and Sollicitor General — Viz.

“First. Whether the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, if they ever had any Right to the Government of the said Tract of Land, lying between St Croix and Kennebeck, or Sagadahock, have not by their Neglect, or even refusal to defend, take care of, and improve the same, forfeited their said Right to the Government, and what Right they had under the Charter, and now have to the Lands.

“Secondly. Whether by the said Tracts being conquered by the French, and afterwards reconquered by General Nicholson, in the late Queen’s time, and yielded up by France to Great Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, that part of the Charter relating thereto became vacated, and whether the Government of that Tract, and the Land thereof are not absolutely revested in the Crown, and whether the Crown hath not thereby a sufficient Power to appoint Governors and assign Lands to such Familys as shall be desirous to settle there. —

“Whereupon His Majestys Attorney and Sollicitor General certified to the said Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, by their Report of the 11th of August, 1731, That having considered the said Case, and Petitions, and having been attended by M^r Paxton, Sollicitor for the Affairs of His Majestys Treasury, and by the respective Agents of the Province, of the Massachusetts Bay in New

England, and of the Pet^{rs}, and having heard Counsel in the behalf of the Crown, and of all the said Partys, at which Hearing were laid before them a Copy of the Charter granted by their late Majestys King William and Queen Mary, to the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, together with several affidavits and copys of divers Conveyances of particular parcels of Land lying within the Tract in question, which were certified under the Seal of the said Province — It appeared to them as follows —

“That all the said Tract of Lands lying between Kennebeck and St^e Croix, is, amongst other things, granted by the Charter to the Inhabitants of the said Province, and that thereby Power is given to the Governor and General Assembly of the said Province to make Grants of Lands within the said Limits, subject to a Provisoe, that no such Grants should be of any force until their said late Majestys, their Heirs or Successors, should have signified their Approbation of the same.

“That it appears also by the said Charter, that the Rights of Government granted to the said Province extend over this Tract of Land —

“That it doth not appear to them that the Inhabitants of the said Province have been guilty of any such Neglect or Refusal to defend this Part of the Country as can create a Forfeiture of that subordinate Right of Government of the same, or of such Property in the Soil as was granted to them by the said Charter, it being sworn by several of the said Affidavits, that a Fort was erected there, and for some time defended at the Charge of the Province, and that Magistrates and Courts of Justice have been appointed within this District, — and that one of the Council of the Province hath always been chosen for this Division, and tho’ it is certain that this Part of the Province hath not been improved equally with other parts thereof, yet considering the vast extent of Country granted by this Charter, and the great Improvements made in several parts

of it, the Attorney and Solicitor conceive that will not create a forfeiture because in such cases it is not to be expected that the Whole should be cultivated and improved to the same Advantage, and whether there hath been such a Neglect or Nonuser of any part as may amount to a Forfeiture must be judged of not upon the particular Circumstances attending that part only but upon the Circumstances of the Whole. —

“And if the Province had incurred any Forfeiture in the present Case no Advantage could be taken thereof but by a legal Proceeding by Scire facias to repeal their Charter, or by Inquisition finding such Forfeiture.

“As to the Question stated in the Case upon the Effect of the Conquest of this Tract of Country by the French and the Reconquest thereof by Gen^l Nicholson, It is the Opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor General that the said Tract not having been yeilded by the Crown of England to France by any Treaty, the Conquest thereof by the French created according to the Law of Nations only a Suspension of the Property of the former Owners, and not an Extinguishment of it, and that upon the Reconquest by General Nicholson all the Antient Rights both of the Province and of Private Persons Subjects of the Crown of Great Britain did revive and were restored Jure post liminij —

“That this Rule holds the more strongly in regard it appears by the Affidavits that the Province joined their Forces to those that came thither under the Command of General Nicholson in this service —

“For these Reasons the Attorney and Solicitor General are of Opinion that the said Charter still remains in Force, and that the Crown hath not power to appoint a particular Governor over this part of the Province, or to assign Lands to Persons desirous to settle there, nor can the Province grant these Lands to private Proprietors without the Approbation of the Crown according to the Charter. —

“ And as to the Case of the Petitioners, in the two Petitions, who insist upon particular Titles in themselves to certain parcels of Land lying within the District in Question, the Attorney and Sollicitor General have examined into their Claims, and find, by the above mentioned Copys of Deeds and Writings produced by them, that several of the Petitioners and those under whom they Claim, have had Conveyances made to them of several of the said parcels of Land, some from the Council of Plymouth which was constituted by Charter in the Reign of King James the first, and whose Grants are confirmed by the Charter of King William and Queen Mary, and others from Indians pretending to be owners thereof, under which Grants large Sums of Money appeared by the Affidavits to have been laid out in endeavouring to settle and improve the Lands therein comprised, several of which Sums were expended not many years agoe, particularly a Sum of Two Thousand pounds by S^r Bibye Lake, in the year 1714, and other Sums of Money by others of the Petrs. in the years 1719 and 1720, and though these Settlements and Improvemts have been in great measure interrupted and defeated by frequent Wars and Incursions of the Indians, yet several of the Petitioners, or their Tenants, appeared to be still in possession of some Parts of the said Tract of Land. —

“ The Attorney and Sollicitor General observe, in their Report, that some Objections were made before them to the Nature of the Grants & Conveyances under which the Petitioners claimed, and to the manner of deducing down their Titles, but they conceive that in Questions of this kind, concerning Rights to Lands in the West Indies, and upon Enquirys of this Nature the same regularity and exactness is not to be expected as in private Suits concerning Titles to Lands in England, but that in these Cases the principal regard ought to be had to the possession, and

the Expenses the Partys have been at in endeavouring to settle and cultivate such Lands. —

“Therefore upon the Whole Matter they are of Opinion that the Pet^{rs}, their Tenants or Agents, ought not to be disturbed in their Possession, or interrupted in carrying on their Settlements in the Lands granted to them within the District in Question —

“Which Report of His Majesty’s Attorney and Sollicitor General having been laid by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations before this Committee, by their Report of the 6th of June last, — The Lords of the Committee this day proceeded to take the Whole Matter into their Consideration, and Do thereupon humbly Report to your Majesty, that they agree in Opinion with His Majestys Attorney and Sollicitor General, that the Charter of the said Province doth still remain in force, and that the Crown hath not power to appoint a particular Governo^r over this part of the Province, or to assign Lands to persons desirous to settle there, nor can the Province grant these Lands without the Approbation of the Crown according to the Charter ; and that the Petitioners, their Tenants or Agents, ought not to be disturbed in their Possession, or interrupted in carrying on their Settlements in the Lands granted to them within the District in Question ; And their Lordships are therefore further of Opinion that it may be advisable for Your Majesty to revoke the Instructions given by His Majesty on the 27th of April 1730, to Richard Philips Esq^r Governor of Nova Scotia, and to the aforementioned David Dunbar, Surveyor General of the Woods, relating to the Settling the said Lands, and to Order the said David Dunbar to quit the Possession of all the said Lands.” —

Her Majesty this day took the said Report into Consideration, and was pleased, with the Advice of His Majestys Privy Council, to approve thereof, and accordingly to

order, as it is hereby ordered, that the said David Dunbarr do quit the Possession of all the said Lands — And Her Majesty is hereby pleased to revoke such parts of the said Instructions, given by His Majesty on the 27th Day of April 1730, to the said Richard Philips, and also to the said David Dunbarr, as have any relation to the Settling of the Lands lying between the Rivers Penobscot and S^t Croix. Whereof the said Richard Philips, or the Governor, or Commander in Chief, of His Majestys Province of Nova Scotia for the time being, and also the said David Dunbarr, and all others, whom it may concern, are to take notice, and govern them selves accordingly. —

A true Copy from the
Council Register

W SHARPE

FROM JN^o PEAGRUM SUR. GEN^l (TO THE COMMISSIONERS
OF CUSTOM, IN ENGLAND).

BOSTON, March 1st, 1737.

HON^{ro} GENTLEMEN

I omitted in my last report to Yo^r Hon^{rs} of the 20th of Dec^r a Complaint made to me by M^r King Collector of Perth Amboy in the East Jerseys that M^r Harrison who was Survey^r and Search^r at New York and had a Commission of Judge of Admiralty for that Province and the Jerseys but leaving the Country without appointing a Deputy in the Jerseys M^r King Imagind His Majesties Revenue might Suffer if any thing shoud Happen wherein he shoud be obligd to go thro' the Courts of Law and that twas a great discouragemt to him in his Duty the want of such an Officer I wrote a Letter to the President of that Province, an Extract of w^{ch} and the Presidents answer is here Inserted

SIR

I am Informed M^r Francis Harrison had a Commission for Judge of Admiralty for the Province of New York the East and West Jerseys and he being gone, without appointing a Deputy in Your Province, and (as I apprehend) for want of such an Officer His Majesties Revenue may Suffer I must request Yo^r Hon^r to appoint a Proper Person for that Station till M^r Harrison returns or another be appointed in his room w^{ch} is all at Present, but that I am Yo^r Hon^{rs} &c.

J. P.

To the Hon^{ble} JNO. HAMILTON Esq^r
Comand^r in Chief for the Province of
the East and West Jerseys 31 Oct^r 1737.

SIR

I have the Hon^r of Yo^{rs} of the 31st Oct^r I dont remember M^r Harrison ever acted in this Province, nor has there been any occasion for such an Officer a Long time besides to tell you the truth I Question my own Power to appoint one, However if there should be such an Officer wanting I will acquaint you with it and Assure you I shall be very fond of following yo^r advice, &c.

JN^o HAMILTON

AMBOY, 12 Nov^r 1737

Yo^r Hon^{rs} will observe the President seems to think that he had not Sufficient Authority to put in such an Officer but I am fully perswaded such an Officer is Necessary in this Country where their Decrees can be put in Execution but in some Colonies the Civil Authority has not power to do that as in a late Case at Rhode Island. A French Vessel came into that Harbour from Cape Fransway and bound for Cape Briton some time ago wth a pretence of Distress. They first by Petition to the Court of Admiralty pray^d for leave to unload and sell some part of the Cargo to refitt her to Sea which was granted. The Cargo consisted of French Molasses Rum and Indigo

I put in the Following Memorial to the Judge

To the Hon^{ble} ROBT^r AUCHMUTY Esq^r Judge of Admiralty for the Province of Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island &c.

The Memorial of Jn^o Peagram Esq^r, Survey^r Gen^l of His Majesties Customs within the same Provinces, Sheweth

That one Roche, Agent Factor or Supercargo of a French Ship belonging to some of the French Colonies in North America, and having the Chief care and management of the same, some weeks ago arrived at Newport in the afores^d Colony of Rhode Island in the s^d Vessel, laden wth French Molasses &c. under a pretence of being forced into that port by the leakiness of the Ship and in order to refitt her and has actually Incurr'd large Debts in the s^d Island, in refitting y^e s^d Vessel, and other Charges attending its putting into the said Port — that the Memorialist has been Inform'd and has reason to believe, that the said Roche designs to pay the said Debts by a private sale of part of His s^d Cargo which is to be delivered at Sea Clandestinely to Sundry Persons who are to advance Money for Him to Pay His Afores^d Debts and Charges and thereby avoid y^e paym^t of His Majesties Duty thereon

Wherefore this Memorialist prays Yo^r Hon^r that the s^d Roche may be Compell'd to Exhibit a true account of His aforesaid Debts and Charges and sell such part of His Cargo as will be Sufficient to satisfy the same, and to pay the Duty upon that part of His Cargo w^{ch} he shall sell, before he is permitted to depart with His s^d Vessel, and Cargo

JN^o PEAGRAM

BOSTON 5 Jan^y 1737

But after this Memorial I was Informed the Persons Concerned in that Cargo had found means to have Money advanced wth out praying the Court to have any of the Goods sold but only to have their Molasses &c. delivered.

After this I wrote the following Letter to the Gov^r for 'twas doubtfull to me whether the Court of Admiralty had Cognizance of this Matter or not, and I was well satisfied more than half the Cargo was dispos'd of there tho' I cou'd not prove it.

HONRD SIR

I was informed by the Coll^r of Yo^r Port dated the 28 Octo^r last that a French Vessel came into the Harbour Commanded by one Billard from Cape Fransway and bound for Cape Briton Laden wth Molasses &c. and meeting with bad weather was oblidgd to put in there and I understand waited on Yo^r Hon^r and prayd he might have leave to unlade his Cargo and sell so much of it as woud defray the Expence of Refitting Thus far his prayer was Reasonable and agreable to the Treaty of the Two Nations but as the Commodities he bro^t were Subject to a Duty had they been bro^t in by any of his Majestys Subjects it must be supposed what he sells must be full as liable, A Case of this Nature Happened at Boston some time ago where the Judge of Admiralty decreed such a Quantity to be sold as should defray the Expence, and that his Majesties Duty should be paid and Security given for the Remainder to be landed at the Port they pretended to be bound for w^{ch} was done accordingly but I am Informed the Persons Concern'd in this Cargo have found Credit Sufficient to defray the Expence of his repairs without selling any and has prayd the Court of Admiralty his Cargo may be decreed Him.

I am of Opinion no Body thinks His Cargo was ever design'd to go much further (if any) than where it is and is sold there tho' must be deliver'd some where else, this seems so plain that no Body Doubts it

I am directed by my Instructions to Apply to the Gov^{rs} or Commanders in Chief if I Imagine His Majesties Revenue Suffers by any fraudulent Practice

And However the Judge of Admiralty may be Confin'd

in point of Law as to his Court as many People are of opinion that Court has no Cognizance of this matter it being not matter of Law but Treaty between Princes. You have the sole power to hear this matter debated before Yourself and I hope for Your own Hon^r before these goods are deliv^d. You'l order a Hearing and not let His Majesty hear his Colony of Rh^d Island is without Justice or Judgment

My Duty oblidges me to this Application to Yo^r Hon^r in Regard to His Majesties Revenue, which I am in no Doubt but you will think Reasonable, I am Yo^r Hon^{rs} &c.

J. P.

To the Hon^{bl} JN^o WANTON Esq^r Gov^r of Newport R^d Island 23 Jan^y 1737

I afterwards was Informed the Judge of Admiralty ordered that part of the Cargo w^{ch} was in the Custody of the Coll^r and the Marshall of the Admiralty to be delivered paying the fees upon w^{ch} I wrote the following Letters to the Coll^r and the Search^r

MR BROWN

I wrote to Your Gov^r that I apprehended the Court of Admiralty had no Cognizance of the Matter before em as not matter of Law but Treaty between Princes 'Twas not only mine but the Opinion of others he had the Right to examine into that Matter himself But as a Case of y^e like Nature had happened at Boston where the Judge had Decreed the Duty to be paid for the Commodities sold I had no objection But I am Informed some People wth You are got into a Method to Evade the Paym^t of any Duty by advancing 'em Money to pay for their Repairs &c. and purchasing their Cargo to be delivered at some other place, If His Hon^r does not think fit to examine any further into this Matter and Suffers the Goods to be delivered according to the Judge of Admiraltys decree, You must take Special Care that they are not relanded in Yo^r District as I have

reason to think they will, either there or in this Province
 Let me know when the Goods are deliv^d and when the
 Vessel sails I am &c. J. P.

To PELIG BROWN Esq^r
 Dep^y Coll^r of Newport R^d
 Island 30 Jan^y 1737

M^r ROBINSON

I am Informed there was a Hearing of a Court of Admiralty last week holden at Providence about a French Vessel that came into your Harbour some time ago and the Cargo deliver'd into the Custody of M^r Brown the Coll^r and y^e Marshall of the Admiralty Court till the Vessell was repair'd. I understand at their first coming in they pray'd for leave to sell such part of their Cargo as wou'd be sufficient to refitt her to Sea w^{ch} if they had done and pay'd the Duty as in the Same Case was done here I shoud have no objection to it But I understand some persons in your Place have advanced them Money on the Cargo to have it deliver'd at some other place, so y^t 'tis believed twill not go far from you

You are therefore to be very diligent in looking out after the Goods are delivered 'em that they don't reland 'em and put an officer or two on board I wrote to Yo^r Gov^r last Week that twas my opinion this matter shoud be heard before Him and not before the Admiralty it not being matter of Law but Treaty between Princes. Whether His Hon^r will take any Notice of it I Cant tell, but give me a line how they Act in that affair by the first opportunity I am &c. J. P.

To M^r ROB^t ROBINSON Survey^r & Search^r for the Ports of Newport
 Rhode Island 30 Jan^y 1737

February,
 1737.

The Beginning of this Month I was informed the Vessel above mentioned was repair'd and fitting out to Sea and that she had taken in such a Considerable Quantity of

Provisions that made the People Murmur in the Streets that so much should be Carried away at such a Scarce time

Being Informed of this I went thither in the Worst Weather I Believe ever any Body Travell'd in and should not have Undertaken this Journey but was Sensible no Officer would Venture to do it tho' I Had Directed it

They had Intelligence of my Coming about four Hours before I got there but not time Enough to gett the Ship off. I went on Board and Seiz'd Her and directly applied to the Gov^r for Assistance to Search which he readily granted what was in his power He sent for the Sheriff and gave him proper directions to give me what Assistance I shou'd think Necessary but I perceived the Sheriff very Cool in the matter and before I could gett any assistance I was told they were Halling the Vessel off to get away

'Twas now dark but I went on board again and as soon as I was on Board my light was beat out I forbid them Halling the Ship off but was not regarded At last I gott the Hasser Cutt w^{ch} prevented their going out that Night this occasiond a Quarrel between the Super Cargo (who gave directions about the Ship) and the Marshall of the Admiralty which came to Blows as will more fully appear in the Judge of Admiraltys decree here annexed where He takes Notice of the Evidence that appear'd before Him about this matter and the Insults We mett with both from this Super Cargo and the Mob However we Stay'd on board above two Hours But Instead of the Sheriffs Assisting us pursuant to the Gov^{rs} Warrant left us alone to the Insults of the Mob bro^t together by some Persons Concerned in the Cargo for it is not to be Conceivd y^t a foreign^r Cou'd bring such a Number of Persons to his aid without being Countenanc'd by some who were advantaged by it neither wou'd they attempted to have gone out had they not been Conscious to themselves they had done something that woud Subject the Vessel and Cargo to forfeiture

I Believe by what has been said above Yo^r Hon^{rs} will

see it Necessary that this Colony should be put under a better Regulation for 'tis now become a free port and 'tis Impracticable for any Officer to do His Duty without more Assistance, than Can be got as the Govern^t Stands and without some Care be taken to Regulate this Colony it will become the Nursery of all Manner of Illegal Trade and Ringleader of the other His Majesties Provinces into the same Practice. Indeed some of the Provinces Complain that such a Little Colony as pays no Duty to their Sovereign or Expence to the Govern^t shou'd be Suffered without restraint And they Apprehend if 'twas Represented to His Majesty how unequally his Subjects are Treated He woud take it into His Royal Consideration

I Promised I woud Represent it to Yo^r Hon^{rs} and did not Doubt but proper care woud be taken

I Can Acquaint Yo^r Hon^{rs} of Nothing more by this Conveyance But that I am

Yo^r Hon^{rs} Most Humble Serv^t

JN^o PEAGRUM U.S
Sur gen^l

BOSTON New England
1^a March 1737

SIR T. ROBINSON SEC^y OF STATE TO LIEUT^t GOV^R OF
PENNSYLVANIA.

WHITEHALL 5 July 1754

SIR,

Your Letter of the 25th of Nov^r last in answer to the Earl of Holdernesses Letter of the 28th of Aug^t having been received & laid before the King, I am to acquaint you that it is his Majestys express Command that you should, in obedience thereto, *not only act vigorously in Defence of the Government under your Care, but that you should likewise be aiding and assisting his Majestys other American Colonies to repel any hostile attempts made against them.* And it was with great Surprise that the King

observed your total Silence upon that part of His Majestys Orders which relate to a *Concert with the other Colonies, which you must be sensible is now become more essentially necessary for their common Defence*, since the account received by you from Major Washington with regard to the Hostilities committed by the French upon the River Ohio, which verifys in fact what was apprehended, when the Earl of Holderness wrote so fully to you in August last, & which might have been in great measure if not totally prevented had every one of His Majestys Governments exerted themselves according to those Directions, the Observance whereof I am now by the Kings Command to enforce to you in the strongest manner

I am Sr

Your most Obedient

humble Serv^t

T. ROBINSON

Lieu^t Gov^r of Pennsylvania

SR. T. ROBINSONS LETTER TO THE GOV^R OF PENSYLV^A RECD
DECEMB^R 18, AND SENT TO THE HOUSE THE NEXT DAY.

Copy.

WHITEHALL Oct^r 26 1754

SIR

Having informed you, in my letter of July 5th that the King had under his Royal Consideration, the State of affairs in North America, I am now to Acquaint you, that amongst other Measures, that are thought proper for the Defence of His Majesty's just Rights & Dominions, in those parts, the King has not only been pleas'd to order Two Regiments of Foot Consisting of 500 Men each, besides Commissioned & Non commissioned Officers, commanded by S^r Peter Halket & Colonel Dunbar, to repair to Virginia & to be there augmented to the Number of 700 each but likewise to send Orders to Gov^r Shirley & Sir

W^m Pepperal, to raise two Regiments whereof they are respectively appointed Colonels of 1,000 men each, & also, to Sign Commissions for a Number of Officers to serve in the said two Regiments, & who will forthwith repair to North America, for that purpose. Whereas there will be wanting a Considerable Number of men to make up the designed Complements of the said four Regim^{ts}. It is his Majestys Pleasure, that you should be taking the previous Steps, towards Contributing as far as you can, to have about 3,000 Men in readiness to be enlisted; And it is Majestys Intention, that a General Officer of Rank & Capacity, to be appointed to command in Chief all the Kings Forces in North America, a Deputy Quarter Master General, & a Commissary of the Musters, shall set out, as soon as Conveniently may be, in order to prepare every thing for the Arrival of the Forces above mentioned from Europe, & for the Raising of the others in America.

You will receive from that General, & the other Officers just mentioned, a full & Exact Account of the Arms Cloathing & other Necessaries to be sent upon this Important occasion, as likewise the Ordnance Stores, & of the Officers & attendants belonging thereto; all which being order'd for this Service, are such Proofs of his Majestys Regard for the Security & Wellfare of his Subjects, in those parts, as cannot fail to excite you to exert yourself, and those under your Care, to take the most Vigorous Steps to repel your Common Danger, & to shew that the King's orders which were sent you last year, by the Earl of Holdernesse, & were renewed to you in my letter of the 5th of July, have at last roused that emulation & Spirit, which every man owes at this Time, to his Majesty, the Publick & himself. The King will not, therefore Imagine, that either you, or the rest of his Governours, will suffer the least Neglect, or Delay in the Performance of the present Service, more Strongly recommended to you

particularly with Regard to the following Points viz^t That you should, Carefully *provide a Sufficient Quantity of fresh Victuals at the Expense of your Governm^t to be Ready for the use of the Troops at their Arrival.* That you should likewise furnish the Officers who may have Occasion to go from place to place, with all Necessaries for Travelling by land, in Case there are no means by going by Sea and that you should use your utmost Diligence and Authority, in procuring an Exact Observance of such Orders as shall be Issued from time to time, by the Commander in Chief for Quartering the Troops, Impressing Carriages, & providing all Necessaries for such Forces, as shall arrive or be raised, within your Government.

As the Articles above mentioned are of a Local & peculiar Nature, and arising Intirely within your Government it is almost needless for me to acquaint you, That his Majesty will Expect, that the Charge thereof, be defrayed by his Subjects belonging to the Same, But with Regard to *such other Articles, which are of a more general Concern, it is the Kings Pleasure, that the same should be Supplied by a Common Fund to be Established for the benefit of all the Colonies collectively in North America for which Purpose you will use your utmost Endeavours to induce the Assembly of your Province, to Raise, forthwith, as large a Sum as can be afforded, as their Contribution to this common Fund, to be Employed,* provisionally for the general Service of North America (particularly for paying the Charge of Levying the Troops to make up the Complement of the Regiments above mentioned) untill such time as a Plan of general Union of his Majesty's Northern Colonies for their common defence can be perfected —

You will Carefully confer, or Correspond as you shall have opportunity upon every thing, relative to the Present Service, with the said General Sir William Pepperell, & Governor Shirley or either of them; and as it is the Kings Intention to give all proper encouragement to such Per-

sons who shall Engage to Serve upon this Occasion, You will acquaint them in the Kings Name, that they will Receive Arms & Cloathing from hence, and that they shall be sent back (if desired) to their Respective Habitations when the Service in America shall be over.

As the Several Governors in all the Kings Provinces & Colonies in North America will Receive by this Conveyance a letter to the same Effect with this which I now send you, they will be prepared, at the same time, to Obey his Majesty's Commands — And I am to Direct you to Correspond with all or either of them occasionally, as you shall find it Expedient for the General Service.

I am Sir

Your Most Obedient
humble Servant

T. ROBINSON

LT. GOV^r LAWRENCE TO COL. MONCKTON.

Duplicate.

HALIFAX 28th March 1755

DEAR SIR

I received your Letter by Captain Adams of the Warren Galley of March 6th and also of the 19th by the Ulysses. I am very glad to find that you have urged the officers of the service of recruiting, to prevail with the men that they raise, to bring their Arms with them; since (as all circumstances considered) it would be highly Improper if not unjustifiable, to remove either the Arms or Ammunition from the Garrison of Annapolis Royal, that have been lodged there for the Defence of it.

I was extremely concerned to find by the first of your above Letters, that you was under the least doubt of being able to procure the quantity of Powder required, being an Article without which, it would be utterly impossible to

proceed with any rational prospect of success, and your second Letter gave me still greater uneasiness, as I find thereby you are without hopes, after having tried every place and every expedient, of being provided with more than three Hundred Barrels: What proportion that number of Barrels bears to the whole quantity required, which as I remember was a Thousand & odd or Eleven Hundred, and what upon the closest calculation, was thought by Mr. Brewse & Capt. Brome barely sufficient; is too obvious for it to be doubted one moment, whither you can proceed on your intended Expedition or not, with such a deficiency, in an article that above all others is so indispensably necessary. — I confess that to find by your last Letter this was the case, surprised me a good deal, after being informed by Mr. Shirley in his Letter by Capt. Adams, that tho' Powder seemed to be a scarce Commodity upon the Continent; yet he had the Strongest hopes and assurances of being able to furnish us effectually with that Essential Requisite. All I can say with any propriety on this Important Circumstance is, that unless a Supply of Powder should arrive from England before this reaches you, or else that we can be assisted by an application to General Bradock, you must at all events postpone your Enterprise, beyond the appointed time of Sailing, and wait for the Supply which you say the Merchants of Boston are hourly in expectation of: It is true indeed that we have in store at Annapolis, if the Storekeeper there has not made a mistake in his last return to me of the State of the Stores, seven hundred Barrels of serviceable powder; but to remove that or any considerable part of it from thence, at this critical conjuncture, wou'd be a step, that if an accident should happen, I should be utterly at a loss to account for: Wherefore you must place no dependance upon a supply from that Garrison, farther then for three or four hundred Barrels at the Most, which I would run the Risk of assisting you with rather than unreasonably Retard the Ex-

pedition, in case the remainder could be procured upon the Continent.

Capt. Brome, who now waits upon you and will give what assistance he can in viewing and regulating the Ordnance Stores, will lay before you the absolute necessity there is of the quantity of Powder that has been demanded, by shewing you upon paper the number of days and rounds for each day that we have calculated upon; whereby you will plainly perceive that we have been as thrifty in the Article of Powder as was possible. What makes me less anxious about the delay that will be occasioned by waiting for Powder is, that provided we get it at least within a reasonable time, the beginning of the winter here was remarkably mild, and now when it should have an end, the weather is worse then it has been at any time this winter; and in short the season is such, that it would be highly imprudent to take the Field for at least three weeks to come, if you was ready at this instant. Besides that by waiting some time longer than was proposed, we may reasonably Expect to be reinforced at this place by Ships from England, or from the Squadron under the Command of Commodore Keppel, which is a circumstance that requires more consideration now, as the Commotions on the Continent are carried to such a height, than at the time of our projecting this Expedition. There is great difference you may imagine (and I find by Captain Spike it is so) between the forwardness of the Season where you are, and with us. One Expedient occurs to me, if you should be driven to the last Extremity for Powder, which is, that as Governor Shirley promised me in his Letter by Adams, to furnish us effectually with that article, he ought to run some risk to do it from Castle William, in case General Braddock should be able to spare him a quantity to replace what he may assist us with, upon so emergent an occasion beyond what he proposed; and if you find nothing better can be done, I would have you send an Express immedi-

ately away upon the arrival of this with such a proposal to Mr. Shirley.

As the small arms you are to depend upon will be chiefly what the men themselves possess, you must lay your account for finding the bores of very various sizes; and therefore in making up your Cartridges, which of course will be done before you sail, the strictest care should be had in sizeing them and putting the particular sizes into different Boxes, so numbered as to avoid confusion on a sudden distribution to be made; for I have been told that on the attack against Louisbourg, after the first Cartridges were expended that were distributed, had the beseiged made a Sally upon the beseigers, they must have driven them from before the place thro' the confusion alone that would have happened for want of this precaution.

Mr. Shirleys sudden departure for Maryland will doubtless put you under some difficulties, and I hope he will keep his promise better in settling every thing before he leaves you, then he appears to have done in respect to powder.

The time you say that you had proposed and fix'd for sailing, was from the 10th to the 15th of the next month, and that we were to Judge for the departure of our Transports and their Meeting with you in Mines Bason accordingly. As things are now circumstanced, I think it will be scarcely possible for you to sail before the beginning of May: And upon the whole, I am of opinion, as I have observed already, that it will be better so than sooner. But I by no means can imagine that *Mines* is the properest place of Rendezvous; for it is in the first place much out of your way; it is a dangerous place for the Transports to ly in; they will have early intelligence at Beau-Sejour from thence of your arrival, & it will be allarming at once the whole Country. Whereas Annapolis Bason is less out of your way, more commodious for your vessels; more out of the way of sending intelligence, and is

at all events the place where the Transports from hence must call to take in such Ordnance Stores as we cannot provide here. Moreover you will find that altho both Captain Rous and Captain Shirley convoy your Transports, and who I dare say will take all imaginable care to keep them together, they will Nevertheless, as they did on their way to Louisbourg, slip away from you into the ports of New England that they belong to, and by this means give you a great deal of Trouble. Now should that prove to be the case, you'll collect them together much more easily at Annapolis then at *Mines*, and the former is in my opinion a much better Rendezvous in every respect than the latter. For the people that are to be taken up at Piziquid Fort you must send forward one of your Transports, as those from hence will have each of them articles to take in at Annapolis.

Were it absolutely necessary to Decide what Captain of the Regulars should remain in the Fort of Chignecto, some difficulty might attend it; as there is nobody I suppose would chuse to be the person pitched upon, and as Captain Hussey is the proper Officer on duty commanding there doubtless he must be the man; but I should think both to avoid that, and other ways to promote the good of the service it would be advisable to remove all the regular Troops out of that Fort and leave a Garrison in it consisting of the Irregulars only. — As to disputes concerning Rank between the Majors of the Provincials and our Captains, they may be easily adjusted; and you'll find by my Letter and additional Instructions of January 29th that every thing of that kind is therein provided for, where I have declared my opinion, that the Rank of a Provincial or Irregular Commission, which is no more than Imaginary, whither of a Major or whatever else it may be, can never come in competition with the Rank of a Commission granted by His Majesty, how inferior soever that may be: nevertheless if the Provincial Officers of the Irregulars

should be so vainly idle as to contend with the other officers upon a point that appears so plainly against them, I should hope that the Kings Officers will even acquiesce for the sake of his Majestys service in an affair that can never afterwards affect their Rank as Officers in the Army. I should recommend it strongly at the same time to separate as much as may be the Regular from the Provincial Troops in order to prevent if possible, such Ridiculous differences, as some vain people may have a propensity to create.

The additional whale Boats you have bespoke, will doubtless be useful, and you may depend upon it I shall take care to forward those that we have here by the Transports which go from hence.

I received the Deserter you sent by the Ulysses and as this is the third desertion, propose to bring him speedily to a General Court Martial, where I hope he will meet with the punishment adequate at all times (particularly as we are circumstanced at present) to his offence.

The Deserter Fraser mentioned by M^r. Shirley, and also the Drummer, I believe we must leave to be enlisted into his Regt as he seems very desirous of Keeping them upon the solicitation of Colonel Ellison: But as to any other Deserters from the Regiments here, which you may happen to lay your hands upon, you will act in regard to them according to your own discretion.

Mr. Shirley in his Letter of the 14th proposes that at least one Sloop should be passing and another repassing between Boston and the Bay of Fundy during the Expedition, that he may be constantly in readiness to support you in case of an unforeseen emergency: He seems to think it likewise necessary, that there should be another employed on the same service between Boston and this place, now tho' I am of opinion that such an intercourse will be highly useful, particularly between Boston and Beau Sejour, yet I cannot help thinking, that to hire vessels for such a ser-

vice alone, would be putting the publick to a needless expence, especially if things could be so contrived as to carry on that correspondence by a couple of the smallest Transports which will be otherwise lying idle during the Expedition. The determination of this however I must submit to Mr Shirley's discretion & yours, in full confidence that you'll incur no kind of Expence that with prudence can be spared. As to the intercourse between Boston and this place, surely no such Vessel can be needful, since upon any Emergency a Vessel may be hired and dispatched away without any difficulty.

I know not well what to reply to another application from Mr. Shirley for an addition of a Hundred pounds to Captain Winslows allowance. The Captain (He tells me) seems somewhat discouraged to find the sum fixed at Six Hundred pounds which he apprehended, from the Conversation between Mr Shirley & himself had been settled at Seven. This disappointment Mr Shirley observes, will be no cause of Captain Winslows' deserting our undertaking or even slackening his zeal for the success of it; yet he thinks the Captain wou'd tax him with unkindness if not injustice had he refused to mention this matter to me as he now has done. — My Interpretation of what he says upon it is, that in short Captain Winslow is not to be disgusted; wherefore I submit the matter to be determined by you earnestly entreating you to make a saving of the additional Hundred if you find it prudently practicable so to do.

Tho you have not at any time made mention of the quantity of provisions you propose to carry with you for victualling the Troops yet I persuade myself you have consulted Mr. Shirley upon that Head and that such measures are concerted between you for their support as that you'll be subject to no difficulties where you are going. Here you know there is no provision made, but for the Troops that belong properly to the Province, & consequently you

can place no dependance upon the least supply from this Quarter. The Troops you bring with you are Engaged for twelve months, but for what part of that time we may have occasion for them it is impossible at present to foresee: I should hope it would be but for a very small part of it unless the present commotions on the Continent should rise to a general Rupture; but as that may possibly, and indeed not improbably be the case, you should endeavour so to regulate your measures with Mess^{rs} Apthorp & Hancock as that we may not in the mean time be distress'd for want of Provisions. Should these provincial Troops be employed for any considerable time in the province, I am apprehensive that Mr. Baker the Contractor for the Troops would have a right to furnish the Provisions; but upon this I shall be more explicit in my next having not yet thought it convenient to have any conversation with M^r Saul on that subject.

As Mr. Shirley will be set out for Maryland before this reaches you, I have wrote no answer to his last Letters more then what is mentioned in this, which is explicit as to every article of any moment contained in his Letters.

Enclosed you have two setts of Bills for Three thousand pounds each, with my Letter to Mess^{rs} Apthorp & Hancock thereupon, which you'll please to seal and deliver to them as addressed: This with the Six Thousand I sent you heretofore, being Twelve Thousand pounds in all, is to be charged to the particular acco^t of the Expedition.

I am with great esteem

Dear Sir — your most faithful & obedient Servant

CHA^s LAWRENCE

P. S. Pray forward the packets to Gen.^l Braddock & Commodore Keppel by the very first opp^t or by the Express, if you should have occasion to send one on acco^t of the Powder.

The Hon^{ble} COLONEL MONCKTON

NOVA SCOTIA — MAJ. MORRIS REPORT — 1758.

Received Col^l Moncktons Orders of Halifax Monday morning the 11th Sep^r 1758 to proceed to Cape Sable with a Detachment, consisting of 2 Cap^{ns}, 7 Sub^s, 6 Serg^{ts}, 4 Drum^s & 240 Rank & file, from the Regulars, & about 60 of Capⁿ Gorhams Company of Rangers; Embark'd at half an hour after one that same day on board the Charles Transport, & Sail'd Immediately after, under Convoy of the Squirrell Man of War, Capⁿ Wheelock, in Company with the Fleet destined for the Bay of Fundy.

13th.

In the Evening, Capⁿ Wheelock acquainted the Master of the Charles Transport, that he was then to put himself under my direction — We immediately seperated from the Fleet, & Shortend Sail, till we were joyn'd by the Carolina Transport in which the remainder of my detachment of Regulars, were embark'd. I gave orders to the Master of the Carolina, and the Master of the Halifax Pilot Schooner, to keep close company with us, & not to Seperate if possible to prevent it.

15th.

At 6 o'clk in the Evening, came to an Anchor in the mouth of the Bay of Saltponds River, And sent Capⁿ Gorham, with between 40 & 50 Rangers, in the two whale boats, to try if he could fall in with a point of Land, from whence, he told me, he had taken off a French Family, about two years & a half ago; Capⁿ Gorham returned, about 5 o'clk the next morning, without having discovered the Place, he went to look for, but said he had been on shore upon some Land where, there were, Potatoes, & Tobacco planted, some of the latter was fresh cut, & laid to dry, & that he imagined the Inhabitants cou'd not be at any great distance.

16th.

At 7 o'clock in the morning we weigh'd Anchor & went up the River of Saltponds about five miles, to a point of Land, where our Pilot inform'd me, he was with a party

sent from Halifax, about a year & a half ago, to destroy some French Inhabitants, then settled there, Capⁿ Gorham likewise told me, it was the Place where he had been on shore the Night before. I began to disembark my Detachment, at 11 oc'lk. And immediately after sent Capn. Gorham with all his Rangers, & 2 Sub^s & 60 Regulars, to try to find out any Tracks that might *lead* to any House, or Plantation — I took Post upon a Rising ground, about 500 yards from where I landed, & where I found the Chimneys of two destroy'd houses, & Several gardens & little divisions of ground, fenced in & sow'd, with Potatoes, Peas, Beans, & Tobacco, some of the Potatoes had been very lately weeded, & some of the Tobacco fresh cut, which made us conclude, it cou'd not have been many days, since some people had been there, Capⁿ Gorham returned about 7 o'clock in the Evening, without having fallen in with any Traces by which he could form a judgment, of where there were any Inhabitants.

At five o'clock in the Morning, I sent Capⁿ Gorham, ^{17th.} with 35 Rangers in the Whale boats to try if he could find any settlements up the River, & at the same time I sent Capⁿ Lieut. Watmough, with the remainder of the Rangers, & 2 Sub^s, & 73 of the Regulars, to make discoveries, in the Country; Capⁿ Gorham told him the course he was to steer, The forepart of the day being extremely rainy, & foggy, Capⁿ Gorham was prevented from going with the Whale boats, & at about 12 o'clock, a party was sent in by Capⁿ Watmough, with three canoes (two with sails) which were taken about five miles by water, to the Eastward of where I was posted; They had in them a fishing spear, & a can of Butter-milk, about two days made, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Capⁿ Watmough returned, with all his Party, & reported that he had fallen in with some tracks, & had seen two houses, & some Land which appear'd to be laid out in Meadows & cultivated, about Eight miles distance, but situated on the other side of an Arm

of the Sea, which he cou'd not ford, therefore came back : —

Upon this information, the Scheme of sending Capⁿ Gorham as was intended in the morning, was set aside, & as soon as the Rangers, who had return'd with Capⁿ Watmough, had refresh'd themselves, I added to them 2 Sub^s & 82 Regulars, & sent them back, with Capⁿ Watmough, to the place where he had made the discovery in the Morning, & Capⁿ Gorham, with a Party of Rangers, went in the two Whale boats, to the Place where the Canoes were found, from thence he was to joyn the other Party & take upon him the Command of the whole; His orders were in case he found himself sufficiently strong to destroy all the houses, settlements &c. he shou'd meet with, & to bring off such Inhabitants as wou'd surrender, but if from any information, or by falling in with any Large fresh Tracks, he shou'd not think himself able to carry his Point, he was then to return to me, that we might settle about stationing of the ships & march into the Country, with the whole Detachment;

18th. At a quarter past ten in the morning, rec^d by a Ranger the following Letter, from Capⁿ Gorham.

“SIR I met Capⁿ Watmough last night at the place & sent him across the Isthmus, I, with the Boats proceeded nigh two leagues to the Eastward, but not finding an Entrance returned, & this morning marched over the Isthmus, & find it a very large Marsh, & doubt not, but there are French Settlements, have therefore left directions, with Capⁿ Watmough & am resolved to try to find out the Entrance, & joyn him by Water, tonight, or tomorrow; We may in the Interim want Provisions, or before the business is done, & have sent a man to Pilot the Schooner down to the Entrance, which will be of service, not only in bringing Provisions, but in facilitating the business we are on: I shall convey Reports of my

proceedings, as often, as occasion may require to you, I am your very humble Servant —

“JOS. GORHAM.

“Monday Morning 9 o'clock

“To MAJOR MORRIS, Commanding Officer.”

I immediately comply'd with his desire of sending him provisions, & the Schooner, I also sent in the Schooner the Pilot of our Ship, because he told me, he was very well acquainted with Pugnico River, which, (from the description the Rangers gave) he imagined, was the entrance, where Capⁿ Gorham intended the Schooner shou'd be sent to. The Schooner sailed a little before one o'clock, in the afternoon with my answer.

“SIR, I received yours of nine o'clock this morning, & have sent in the schooner, 4 days provisions of Pork, & Biscuit for 140 men, tho; I hope, you will be able to do all your business, before that is expended; I have given M^r Bulkley orders, to put himself under your directions; I am, wishing you all the success you can desire — Sir your most hble. Serv.

“ROGER MORRIS.

“Monday a quarter after twelve o'clock.

“P.S. I have likewise sent you the Pilot of our Vessell, who may perhaps be of service to you.

“To Capⁿ GORHAM commanding a Detachment from my Post.”

At half an hour after nine o'clock at night I received the following Letter from Capⁿ Gorham.

“SIR I met with Capt. Watmough at about 12 o'clock who had made a Tour round the head of the River, & in possession of a very large Village, where there is a Mass house, & several dwelling houses, all deserted; there is potatoes, ——— &c. in the ground, I believe nigh three hun-

dred Bushells notwithstanding its very apparent the people are often here, to tend their ground, yet no paths, can yet be discovered to find — their dwelling places, there is two Canoes up this River, on our Route, from which, am in hopes of gaining some knowledge of their paths, there is also another village, on the other side of this River, which I landed at on my coming up, its not quite so large yet will be proportionably a support to the Enemy.

“The Schooner is now anchor’d about two miles below me, & I presume its a safe harbour. What I wou’d beg leave to propose is this, that as the destroying the potatoes &c. in this River, is very necessary, & further excursions, requisite to be immediately — in search of the Inhabitants, both which, the Force I now have, will not be able to accomplish in season, The Transports, & whole Command, come into the River, or an assistance of Forty more men joyn me, the latter, if you think fit, may be most convenient, as some difficulty perhaps will attend, in piloting the Ships round; tho; its a very good harbour, & any men on board the Schooner, will undertake it if necessary.

“I am S^r y^r very h^{ble} Ser^{vt}

“JOS. GORHAM

“PONBINKON RIVER
18th Sep^r 1758.”

“To Major MORRIS Commanding
His Majestys Troops at Cape Sable.”

At 6 o’clock in the morning sent 1 Sub: & 50 of the Regulars, to reinforce Capⁿ Gorham, & took that opportunity of sending an answer to his Letter which I received last night.

“SIR I received your letter of the 18th Sept. last night, I shall immediately embark the remainder of my Command on board the Transports, in order to proceed to where you are, as soon as you send me a Pilot, to carry up the Ships, which I beg you’ll do immediately after you receive this;

but lest the wind shou'd prevent our sailing immediately, I have sent Lieut. Widdrington, with 50 men to joyn you, In the mean time, I am Sir

“ Your Most h^{ble} Serv^t

“ ROGER MORRIS

“ Tuesday Morning 6 o'clock

19th Sep^r 1758,

“ To Capⁿ GORHAM.”

As soon as I had destroy'd the Gardens, I reimbarked my Detachment, & a little before ten o'Clock, the whole was on board the Transports. At one o'Clock, a Party came to me, from Capⁿ Gorham, with the Pilot of our Ship, & we got under sail, at 3 o'Clock in the afternoon, but the Tide being near spent, the Channel very narrow, & the wind not favourable, we were obliged to come to an Anchor, in half an hour after we had made sail.

Made sail at 7 o'Clock in the morning & Came to an 20th. Anchor at half an hour after twelve, in Ponbinkon River, Capⁿ Gorham came on board some time after we had been at Anchor, & told me, he had not been able to find any Tracks, which cou'd give us hope of falling in with the Inhabitants; That he had sent out Capⁿ Watmough, that morning with 70 men, to follow the Paths, which went from the Village where he was posted—I landed with part of my Detachment, at ten o'Clock at night, when Capⁿ Watmough reported to me, that he had been out, upon a reconnoitring party, & that after having marched about five miles, the Tracks became quite lost, & that afterwards, he cou'd not make any discovery at all.

At ten o'Clock in the morning, the remainder of my 21st. command were landed; Capⁿ Gorham sent a Serj^t & eight men to the Eastward to try if they could fall upon any Tracks.

At twelve o'Clock Capⁿ Gorham's Serj^t return'd, without 22d. having discovered any thing at all. — At two o'Clock in the afternoon, I ordered Capⁿ Maunsell, with 100 men, to cross

the River, & to destroy, two houses, & some Gardens &c. that were about two miles below, where I was posted: —

23d. Having destroyed all the gardens &c, I began to embark my Detachment, about 11 o'Clock, & left Capⁿ Gorham, to set fire to the houses & Barns, as soon as he shou'd see the long Boats put off from the shore, with our last Division, & then to come on board with his Company; — Capⁿ Maunsell sent me word, he shou'd be able to finish his Business by the Evening, but as the Tide did not answer, I cou'd not get his Command on board that night, but I order'd the long Boats, &c, on shore, to be ready to bring them off, next morning by day-break.

24th. At 6 o'Clock in the morning, Capⁿ Maunsell return'd, on board, with all his Party.

29th. At 8 o'Clock in the Morning got under sail, having been detain'd ever since the 24th by contrary winds, & blowing weather; at 5 o'Clock in the afternoon, came to an anchor, at the mouth of the Salt Ponds River.

30th. At 7 o'Clock in the Morning made sail, & after having gone thro' the Passage of the Tuskett Islands came to an Anchor at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at about five miles from the Point of Tobogue; I sent Capⁿ Gorham that Evening, with 20 Rangers, & Mr. Bulkley the Pilot, in a whale-boat, to reconnoitre the entrance of Tobogue harbour, & to try if he could make any discovery;

Oct. 1st. At twelve o'Clock in the forenoon, Capⁿ Gorham returned, & reported that he had been at Tobogue, that he saw 7 or 8 houses, but all deserted, that he went on shore upon an Island, just near the Houses, where he found eleven sheep, which he brought off, with him; That he did not think it adviseable, to take the Ships into Tobogue Harbour, because the Channell was very narrow, & he sounded at high-water, & found but just three Fathom water; upon this report I sent back Capⁿ Gorham in the evening, with as many Rangers, (with 4 days provisions) as he could carry in the two whale boats, & the next morn-

ing, I was to reinforce him with 2 sub^s, & 70 of the Regulars, with the same quantity, of provisions, & by the return of the boats, which were to carry the Regulars, he was to send me a Report, of what further discoveries, he shou'd make.

At 7 o'clock in the morning, the Detachment to reinforce 2a. Capⁿ Gorham, left the Ships; When Capⁿ Gorham went away, I order'd him that after having reconnoitred about Tobogue, if he should not find any prospect, of falling in with the Inhabitants, that he shou'd destroy all the Houses &c., & return on board again with his party;

At two o'Clock in the afternoon, Capⁿ Gorham came on 4th. board, & told me that he had not met with any people; but that Capⁿ Watmough, whom he had sent upon a discovering party, had return'd, just before he came away, & told him, that he had seen five Houses, but that they were at the other side of a Branch of the Sea; Capⁿ Gorham said the wind was contrary, & blew too fresh, to attempt going round Cape Forceu, where he imagined the houses were, but proposed, that if the weather, shou'd become moderate, to take a Party, & destroy those houses on our way, to the River St^t Johns; —Capⁿ Gorham then gave me the following Report.

“A REPORT OF THE DETACHMENT SENT UP TOBOGUE RIVER

Burnt . .	{	Houses with Chimneys	9
		Mass Houses	1
		Barns &c.	9
		Stacks of Hay	6
Taken & destroyed . .	{	Sheep	12
		Potatoes, & Turnips, Bush ^{ls} about	50
		Canoes	6

Discovered by the different Parties sent out into the woods, & in boats, up the head of the River, Tracks of Men & Cattle, that have lately left the River,

“JOS. GORHAM Capⁿ
Rangers.

“Oct. 4th 1758

Major MORRIS }
Of the 35th Reg^t } Commanding Officer.”

I immediately gave directions to the Masters of the Transports to prepare to sail, but the wind continued contrary, & blew so fresh that we cou'd not attempt to put to Sea.

7th. In the afternoon the Weather being moderate Capⁿ Gorham desired that he might the next morning take a small party, & destroy the five houses above mentioned, & that if the wind shou'd come fair, that the Ships might lay too, off, Cape Forceu, where he wou'd come on board, & joyn us to which I consented.

8th. At 8 o'Clock in the Morning, Capⁿ Gorham left the Transports, & with the two whale-boats, went for Cape Forceu.

9th. A Quarter before Eight o'Clock in the Morning I received the following Letter by M^r Bulkeley,

“SIR I but just found out & surprised a Village, in a very remote part of the wood, where there is Monsieur Desinclot the Priest, & nine familys, they are inclusive of men, women & children, sixty one, beside the Priest, two of that number are out hunting; They have discovered an adjacent family, which I have sent for, all which I purpose to secure as well as I can, Till I have further assistance from you which I doubt not, will be as speedy as possible, as the Priest tells me, there is with Six Indian family's, Twenty one more French Families, on this Coast, extending not further than the Tusket River, In all thirty six, with what I have taken, what Capⁿ Watmough discovered, was only Rocks at the mouth of the Harbour, I have secured all their arms, & ammunition, & purpose to keep the whole in the Mass House, till reinforced,

“I need not tell you that the Ships, must come into the Cape Forceu Harbour, as soon as may be, but hope the

whale-boat may be sent back directly, & a Reinforcement with the Schooner, or boats if they can come.

“ I am Sir, Y^r Most obd^t Serv^t

“ JOS. GORHAM

“ P.S. Since the above a woman & 6 children is come in.

“ Toboquet Village, Oct^r 8 Sunday 6 o'clock P.M.
— I have about four miles to send to the boats.”

I immediately sent back the Whale-Boat with the following answer

“ 9th Oct^r Monday Morning a quarter
past eight o'Clock

“ SIR I have just this moment rec^d your letter by M^r Bulkeley, I have manned the Whale Boat with 15 Men, & ordered her to go off immediately with this, I am geting the Schooner clear, & shall send her off to you, with M^r Bulkeley, & as many men as she can safely contain, & I hope she will be able to joyn you, some time today. The Ships shall proceed to Cape Forceu, as soon as possible ;

“ I am S^r y^r most h^{ble} Serv^t

“ ROGER MORRIS

“ To Capⁿ GORHAM—
Commanding a Party from
my Detachment”

As soon as the Schooner was got ready, I sent her off with the following Letter.

“ SIR Whilst the Schooner was geting ready, I sent off the Whale-Boat with Serj^t Eddy of your Company, & 15 Men, to let you know, I had received your letter by M^r Bulkeley, & that the ships shou^d proceed to Cape Forceu, as soon as possible ; This will be delivered to you by Capⁿ Watmough, who with L^t Campbell of the Royal Americans, will joyn you with 55 Men, being the greatest number, M^r

Bulkeley will venture to take in the Schooner; I am extremely glad you have secured Monsieur Desenclot, whom you will please to acquaint, as also those Inhabitants you have already taken, that I shall retaliate upon them, any mischief that may hereafter be done to any of the command, I likewise expect M^r Desenclot will inform you, where the rest of the Inhabitants are settled, whom you may assure, will meet with safety, as to their Lives, but in every other respect, are to be prisoners at Discretion, you'll likewise secure all the Cattle, & provisions of every kind, & upon no account suffer any of it to be wasted, & you are to allow the Inhabitants to have no more, than will subsist them, which you will order to be delivered out to them accordingly, & unless they will inform you, where they have laid up, their Magazines, for the winter, I will immediately put them upon bread & water. You may depend upon it the very moment it is practicable, the Ships shall proceed to Cape Forceu; you will please to inform me, as soon as possible of your further proceedings, I have sent you in the Schooner two Barrells of Biscuit, which you will deliver out to your Party, in case you cannot do without it; unless you have particular service for the Schooner, you will please to send her back, that if the wind shou'd prevent the Ships from geting this day to Forceu we may send another Party on shore in her,

“I am Sir Y^r most h^{ble} Serv^t

“ROGER MORRIS

“Major to the 35th Reg^t

“P.S. your Reinforcement has received Provisions for this day. — 9th Oct^r 1758 on Board the Charles Transport, Monday Morning half an hour past nine o'Clock.”

Made sail at eight o'Clock in the Morning, & came to an anchor in Cape Forceu Harbour, at two o'Clock in the afternoon, at ten o'clock at night, I gave my Letters for Col^l Monckton, to Mr. Bulkeley, & ordered him to proceed

with them in the Pilot Schooner, to the River St Johns, & to make all the Expedition he could.

At ten o'clock in the Morning, I disembark'd, & march'd to Jigogan; the Village Capⁿ Gorham had taken possession of; it was about 6 miles distant from where the Ships Anchor'd, but as the Weather was very bad, it was late in the afternoon before all the Detachment joyn'd me. 11th.

Were Employed in securing the Vegetables, getting in Cattle from the woods, & sending off the sick men of the Rangers to Lunenburg, & in fitting out a Party of 120 Men, to march under the command of Capⁿ Gorham, to the Village of Tuskett, the Place where Monsieur Desenclares' chief residence was, & about 12 miles by Land from Jigogan. 12th, 13th, 14th.

At 8 o'Clock in the Morning Capⁿ Gorham March'd. His orders were to take as many of the Inhabitants as he cou'd, but if the houses were abandon'd, to immediately destroy all the Vegetables &c. when that was done, he was to detach a Party to demolish Popotet, another French Settlement, about four Leagues from the Tuskets, Mr. Desenclares, not being able to march, I sent him, with a Party by Water, that he might inform Capⁿ Gorham of the Number of Inhabitants thereabouts, & their particular Places of Residence. 15th.

At half an hour after eleven o'Clock in the forenoon, The French Inhabitant, that Capⁿ Gorham mentions in his Report of the 10th Instant, to have sent with a Letter, return'd, & brought Letter No. (1) he said that he had been taken by three Indians, that it was with great difficulty he had made his escape from them, which was the occasion of his having been so long away. 18th.

At half an hour past one in the afternoon, I received the following Letters from Capⁿ Gorham, No. (2) (3) (4), & before I had finished my answers to them, I received Col. Monckton's Letter, dated St Johns * * * * October 16th 1758 No. (5). 19th.

20th. At Eleven o'Clock in the forenoon, I set out by water, to go to Capⁿ Gorham, to concert, measures, for executing in the most expeditious manner, the fresh orders I had received from Col. Monckton.

21st. At 5 o'Clock in the Morning I arrived at Capⁿ Gorham's Quarters; after I had talked sometime with M^r Desenclares, he wrote a Letter to the French Inhabitants (No. 6); I likewise order'd Capⁿ Gorham to write one at the same time in English, (which M^r Desenclares was to translate in French on the same paper) to acquaint them, that if they wou'd immediately surrender they shou'd be well treated, but if they did not, they wou'd be looked upon as Rebels, & Enemies, & treated as such, — That as an indulgence, I had allow'd their Priest to write to them, but they were not to expect any more intercourse of Letters, I also told Capⁿ Gorham, he was not to receive any Flags of Truce from them; Capⁿ Gorham acquainted me, that he had sent an answer to the Letter No. (4) the Purport of which was, to acquaint the Inhabitants, that he cou'd pay no regard, to their applications to the Governor of Boston, but that they must immediately surrender to him, or expect to be treated as Rebels & Enemies; Capⁿ Gorham likewise reported to me, that one of the French Inhabitants, whom he had taken as a Guide from Jigogan, & had sent out to look for Cattle, had met with four Indians, whom he knew; that they told him, they wanted to have Peace with the English, & to send a Message to the Governor of Nova Scotia, & in token of Peace they sent a Hatchet to the commanding Officer, — I told Capⁿ Gorham not to make any particular terms with them, but to send them word, that they might be assured, that any Message they shou'd send for the Governor of Nova Scotia, shou'd be safely delivered, — After having gevin Capⁿ Gorham's orders, to detach a Party to demolish Popotet, & to be as expeditious as he cou'd in gathering the Vegetables, at the Place where he was, I returned to Jigogan, where I arrived at four o'clock in the

afternoon, & in the Evening I wrote to Capⁿ Gorham the Letter No. (7).

At half an hour after two o'Clock in the afternoon, 26th. Lieut. Conway delivered me the Letters, No. (8) & (9) from Capⁿ Gorham

Sent the Effects belonging to the Inhabitants, on board 27th. Ship ; — at half an hour after two o'Clock. — In the afternoon, Lieut. Paynton of the Royal Americans came in with a Party from Capⁿ Gorham, & gave me the Letter No. (10), with the inclosed Report.

In the Morning, embark'd the French Women, & Chil- 28th. dren, on board the Alexander Transport, In the afternoon I received a Letter from Capⁿ Gorham acquainting me that he was arrived at Cape Forchü with the Boats, but that the Pilot Schooner, was still detained, by contrary wind in the Tusket Islands.

After having destroy'd, the Houses, &c at Jigogan, I 29th. marched the Detachment, to Cape Forchü, & between four & five o'Clock in the afternoon, the whole were on board Ship ; — as we were Embarking the Men, the Schooner appear'd off the Mouth of the Harbour, & came to an Anchor in the Evening.

Was Employed in clearing the Schooner, & making a 30th. distribution of the Cattle, & Vegetables.

Embark'd the Sick men of the Rangers, on board the 31st. Pilot Schooner, & gave the Master of the Alexander, his orders to proceed to Halifax with the very first fair wind, at the same time I gave him a Letter for the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Troops at Halifax No. (11)

Cape Forchu Harbour

October 31st 1758

ROGER MORRIS, Major
to the (35) Regiment

CAPE FORCEU HARBOUR Tuesday night
10th October 1758.

SIR.

I have sent you inclos'd, a Journal of my Proceedings, since I left Halifax, by which you will find, that, till the 8th Instant, I had met with no Inhabitants, & had only destroyed some old Houses, &, which I believe had not been inhabited for some time before, agreeable to the verbal order, which you gave me, the morning I left Halifax, I have sent off the Pilot Schooner, to acquaint you of the number of French Inhabitants, I have already taken, consisting of 57, Men, Women & Children included — and by Cap^t Gorham's Report, a copy of which is annexed; there are still 21 more Family's hereabouts, but whither they will surrender, or not is doubtful; at all events, I shall send parties, to destroy their Houses, & every thing else, that may be of service to them — We arrived here only this afternoon, & owing to the Tide, I cannot get on shore this night, but intend to disembark all my command tomorrow, & shall endeavour to make what use I can of Mr. Desenclets the Priest, who, by Captain Gorham's account to me, (from necessity I conclude) is very willing to be communicative; — Our people grow very sickly, & the Surgeon wishes it may not become epidemical, It began first with the Rangers, who have lost 5 men, & still it increases with them — At Captain Gorham's application; I have consented to his sending the Sick belonging to his Company consisting of 15, rank, & file, to Lunenburg, where he tells me, the Surgeon of his Company resides — I have just now call'd for a Return of our Provisions, & I find that on both Ships, I have not 14 days full allowance, for all my Command; I have therefore wrote to Cap^t Wheelock, & inclos'd you a copy of My Letter, which I hope you will approve of — Tho' I have not had the Pleasure of being with you, yet I beg you will believe me when I assure you, with the greatest Truth, & Sincerity; that I

hope you have met with all the success you could have wished for — I shall be obliged to you if you will make my compliments to Colonel Fletcher, & the rest of the Gentlemen with you — I am sure you will not think my situation here so eligible, but that I shall be extremely impatient, till I receive your further orders —

I am Sir

Your Most Obedient
humble Servant

ROGER MORRIS

JAMES DE LANCY TO HON. ROB^t MONCKTON.

NEW YORK 23^d December 1758

SIR,

I was favored with your letter of the 14th of November from St John's River. I thank you for the account you give me of the progress of his Majesty's Arms in that Quarter and congratulate you on their general success this year.

You will have heard that the Enemy destroyed and abandoned Fort Du Quesne on the approach of Brigadier General Forbes, the Garrison was supposed to consist of about four hundred men, one of which went down the Ohio, one other by land, imagined to the French Fort at the head of Beeve River or Riviere au Bœuf, or to Presqu'isle, the other two hundred with M^r De Liguerie the Commander to Venango about sixty miles higher up the River Ohio where Beeve River falls into it.

I hoped to have had the pleasure of seeing you here, as we were informed your Battalion was to have quartered at Boston; in that case I imagine you would have made an excursion to this place. L^t Colonel Robertson being in town I immediately upon the receipt sent your letter to him. He has undertaken to ship the Cloathing, otherwise I should haue got my Brother Watts to haue done it, who I

am sure would be pleased to do you any service, and it lay in his way as he is frequently sending provisions for the Troops in Nova Scotia. The letters from Major Morris were also immediately delivered to M^r. Robinson his brother in law.

Many happy years to you. I am with great regard Sir.

Your most obedient and most
humble servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

The Honorable
ROBERT MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

NEW YORK 28th July 1760.

DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your Favor of the 19th instant which I received yesterday. I presume your letter for General Amherst Came to the Post with mine and goes away this morning by the Albany Post, it did not come to my hands. General Amherst arrived at Oswego the 9th the Enemy's Vessels appeared off there the 6th and again the 11th and 12th. On the 15th in the morning our ships came to Oswego and in the Evening went in quest of the French I am afraid too late. The Troops in camp there the 17th were the 1st Batt. of R. Highlanders, Oughton's and the New Yorkers, the others coming up under B^r General Gage, but as the waters are low, they will take some time to get thither, so that I imagine Major Walters will be at Niagara in good time.

The News from Quebec justly gave us great cause of Joy. I seem to think *entre nous* that B^r General Murray, when he has got his reinforcement from Louisbough and those with L^t Colonel How, will steal Montreal.

As you are not fond of your superintendency at Fort Pitt, I shall not take upon me to congratulate you on this

occasion, I only wish, your hopes, that the General will remove you soon may be accomplished. I think the command of two Regiments and more, besides five or six thousand Provincials at Crown Point more eligible than what you have, it is what L^t Col^l Haviland now has, I should be glad you had it.

My Compliments to old Gates, as he has now no opportunity of seeing any Women, I hope he will recover his Eye sight.

You have my best wishes and Regards.

I am

Sir,

Your most obedient and most
humble servant

JAMES DE LANCEY.

The Honorable
Br General MONCKTON.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE COMMISSIONERS FOR
TRADE AND PLANTATIONS TO THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} W^m
PITT, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF
STATE, DATED 21st FEBRUARY, 1760.

SIR,

In obedience to his Majestys commands, we have taken into our consideration the subject matter of your letter to us of the 15th inst. relative to the proposals made by the Colonels of several Provincial Battalions and by Major of Brigade Philip Skene, for settling certain tracts of land in North America, and are of opinion that the making settlements upon those lands which are adjacent to the great Lakes and Waters, the possession of which must in its consequences give possession of the country provided it be done with a proper regard to our engagements with the Indians, is a measure of true wisdom and sound policy.

That the Officers and Soldiers of the Provincial Battalions, which have been employed in his Majesty's service, are in every respect the properest persons for such settlements, for as on the one hand those habits of industry, peculiar to the American Colonists, and that knowledge which they must be supposed to have of the best manner of making new settlements, will enable them to improve their property to the best advantage to themselves and consequently to the greater benefit to the Public, so on the other hand they will be enabled by their knowledge of military discipline and the use of arms, not only to defend that property, but also that of the inhabitants of the other Colonies, to which they will be a frontier.

That this is no less a measure of justice, in reference to what is certified by General Amherst to have been the particular merit of those Provincial Officers, than it is a measure of true policy, in reference to public utility, and it is this happy coincidence of public policy and justice to private merit, that this measure is in our opinion well worthy the attention of Government.

(Signed)

DUNK HALIFAX
T. PELHAM
W. G. HAMILTON
E^r BACON

GENERAL AMHERST'S TALK TO THE SEVERAL INDIAN TRIBES
AND NATIONS OF INDIANS, ENCLOSED IN HIS LETTER TO
GEN. STANWIX AP^l: 28th, 1760.

BRETHREN, KINGS, CAPTAINS AND WARRIORS OF THE MANY
NATIONS:

Take notice of what I am going to say in the name of the chief commander of all his Majesty's Forces on this Continent.

Brethren, I let you know, that our Great King has sent me into this country, to head and command all his warriors;

and that he has given me a sword to protect and defend his subjects and to act against his enemies

Brethren, as I have nothing more at heart than the good and welfare of the whole community, I do assure all the Indian nations, that his Majesty has not sent me to deprive any of you of your lands and property; on the contrary, so long as you adhere to his interest, and by your behavior give proofs of the sincerity of your attachment to his Royal Person and Cause, I will defend and maintain you, in your just rights and give you all the aid and assistance you may stand in need of, to repress the dangers you may be liable to from the enemy through your attachment to us.

This I firmly mean to adhere to, so long as you behave like good and faithful allies. But on the other hand, if any of you should commit any act of hostility or do any injury to any of his Majesty's subjects, you are sensible I must resent it, and retaliate upon them, and you know that I have the might so to do tenfold for every breach of treaty or outrage you could be guilty of. And if any of his Majesty's subjects under my command should kill or injure any of our Indian Brethren, they shall upon due proof thereof receive equal punishment. As a proof of the truth and sincerity of what I have said I give you this.

Brethren, Kings, Captains and Warriors, I mean not to take any of your lands, but as the necessity of his Majesty's service obliges me to take Post and build Forts in some parts of your Country to protect our trade with you, and prevent the enemy from taking possession of your lands, and hurting both you and us, as you are sensible, that if we do not build Forts, the French will. In that case I assure you, that no part whatever of your lands joining the said Forts shall be taken from you, nor any of our people be permitted to hunt or settle upon them. But they shall remain your absolute property, and I will even promise you some presents as a consideration for the land, where such Forts or Trading Houses are or may be built upon.

And as it is expensive, and inconvenient for us to carry provisions for our warriors from our settlements to their Forts, and also to supply our Brethren the Indians when they come to see us, if you will lay out a space of ground adjoining every Fort to raise corn; in that case fix yourselves the limits of that part of your lands, so appropriated to us, and you will receive such a consideration for it, as will be agreed between you and us to your satisfaction. As a proof of the truth and sincerity of what I have said, I give you this.

Brethren, Kings, Captains, and Warriors of the several Indian Nations, those who will join his Majesty's arms, and be aiding and assisting in subduing the common enemy, shall be well rewarded, and those that may not chuse to act in conjunction with the forces, shall be equally protected provided they do not join in any acts of hostility with the enemy, or carry them intelligence which might prove prejudicial to the publick good.

Upon these terms you shall find me your fast friend. But on a breach of them, you would force me to treat you as our enemies, the consequences of which would be fatal to you, and very disagreeable to the King my master. I say this out of the tender regard I have for the lives and welfare of our Brethren the Indians, and I chuse you should know what you have to trust to, since I intend to be as good as my word

Given under my Hand and Seal of Arms at Head Quarters
at Fort George, in the City of New York, this 27th day
of April 1760

JEFF. AMHERST

COLONEL BOUQUET TO GENERAL STANWIX. *Indorsed.*

[CONCERNING THE ROADS FROM THE FRONTIERS OF PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND VIRGINIA, TO PITTSBURGH ON THE RIVER OHIO.]

PHILADELPHIA 26th April, 1760.

SIR,

As it is probable that the War can not last much longer on this Continent, and consequently that no Provincial Troops will be raised hereafter, all Publick Works requiring great number of Hands should if possible be executed this Campaign.

On that supposition I beg leave to lay before you my sentiment concerning the communications wth the Ohio. We have at present two Roads to Fort Pitt, the continual repair of which will require every year a number of men, who can hardly be spared from the Garrison of that Post, and these Roads being extended out of the settlements, will soon become impracticables by the Severity of Winters in those Mountains, as it is not to be expected that the Provinces will repair them.

But if the two Roads were reduced to one, the Repairs would be reduced to one half. What is to be considered in that Case is what Road should have the preference? not to disoblige either of the three Provinces, or obstruct their Trade? To avoid giving any Jealousy, and for many other Reasons, I am of opinion that neither the Virginia, nor the Pensilvania Road ought to be chosen, But a new one opened in such a manner as to serve equally these three Provinces.

By the actual surveys of both Roads, It appears that Pittsburgh lies about 60 miles to the Northward of Fort Cumberland, & about 30 to the Northward of Bedford.

The distance from Lancaster to Pittsburgh by the Pensilvania Road is 245 Miles.

If that Road instead of going thro' Carlisle was directed thro' York Town, Fort Frederic, and Fort Cumberland, the Distance of Pittsburgh would be about the same, and you have no mountains as far as Cumberland excepted the Sth Mountains, which are very Inconsiderable & you miss entirely Seydeling Hill, & Rays Hills as I observed in coming down the Patowmack that this River makes large Gaps in these two mountains, and leaves a space of about 100 yards from the highest Water mark to the foot of the Hills, where the Road would pass.

There is not above 50 miles of that Road to cut to Fort Cumberland, Sir John St Clair having two Years ago made a considerable Progress in it, when the Troops employed there, were recalled by Gen^l Forbes, who thought the season too far advanced to finish it.

Besides the advantages of being equally convenient to the three Provinces (beginning in Pensilvania, & going thro' Maryland and Virginia) this Road crost the Patowmack, and would afford an opportunity of making use of the navigation of that River, and running as far as Fort Cumberland thro' a settled Country, the Inhabitants could be obliged by Law to keep it in Repair, which can never be the Case with the Road to Bedford, The Land being too barren to be ever settled.

Now as the course of Braddock's Road runs Sth West, instead of N. W. from Fort Cumberland making the distance to Pittsburgh about 125 miles of a bad Road, with many Creeks and Rivers to cross, it is thought that a better and shorter Road could be found in a direct Course N. W. beginning along Will's Creek, and avoiding the Waters of the Mononghehela and Yioghiogheny (excepted the North Branch of this last) and passing near Gist's Plantation within a few miles of the last Crossing of the Yioghiogheny, where a short Communication could be opened to make use of that River when navigable in the Spring & Fall, and continue the straight Road till it should intersect

the Pensylvania Road, some where between the three Redoubts & Pittsburgh.

The shortest distance from Fort Cumberland to the last Crossing of the Yioghiogheny is about 60 miles, & from thence to Pittsburgh about 40 do. The Land Carriage would be reduced to those 60 miles, to the great advantage of that Communication.

If you should think that this Road would answer the End of reducing the Communications to one common to three Provinces concerned, the Country beyond Fort Cumberland must be explored, and the Course blazed before the Leaves and Weeds are too thick: and Cap^t Shelby seems the properest Person to be employed, having already a Knowledge of that Part of the Country.

I can answer that this Road would be better and shorter as far as Fort Cumberland, having seen it myself. But I can only guess at the rest by the general Face of the Country where I observed that the Allegheny and Laurel Hills are not so high as where the Pens^a Road crosses these Mountains.

Braddocks Road could still be used to go to Fort Burd on the Mononghehela, and the Pensylvania Road remain open to the People who would Chuse to go that Way.

I am with great respect Sir

Your most obedient & most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

Major General STANWIX.

DISTANCES OF THE NEW ROAD.

From Lancaster to York	22 miles.
From York to Nichols' Gap	35
across the S th Mountains	4
To the Patowmack at licking Creek	26
To the mouth of Sydeling Hill Creek	20
To Cresap	20
To Fort Cumberland	15
<hr/>	
In all	142 miles.
To Pittsburgh	100
<hr/>	
Distance from Lancaster	242 miles.

GEORGE CROGHAN

FORT PITT, May 1st 1760

DEAR SIR,

Since I parted General Stanwix at Bedford I have had a Conference with y^e Shaunas in y^e presence of 500 Indians of Different Nations, a copy of which Major Tuliken took down with him which I make no doubt you have seen.

At this Conference I have settled matters with the several Nations this way on so good a footing that they have offered to go to war against the Southern Indians, which opportunity I embrace and have fitted out four partys y^e last of which set of this day, in y^e whole about 100 men, though I had no orders for so doing. I hope my conduct will meet with y^e approbation of General Monkton, who I hear is to command this way, as it will be a means of drawing of y^e Cherokees from their cruel murders on y^e frontiers of y^e Southern provinces, and at y^e same time employing those young dogs who have plagued us stealing horses on this communication, which is all we have to fear this way unless some unforeseen accident happen.

General Stanwix left y^e kings store here almost empty of Indian goods, and I have been at a considerable expence at y^e Conference & fitting out those Warriors without any orders, which expence if it should be thrown on myself for acting without orders will ruin me, though I consulted y^e Comm^d officer & had his approbation, as he was of opinion with me that y^e service must suffer unless I went into y^e expence. I must request y^e favor of you to acquaint General Monkton of y^e circumstances I am in. Here is not sixpence worth of goods in store. No powder & lead, nor any orders to purchase any, so that I am at present a needless person here, for without goods & ammunition I can neither send Indians to war, nor transact business with them to y^r knowledge.

Several Indians of different nations this Winter have offered their service to go with me against fort Detroit some days ago. I have sent spys over y^e Lake to sound y^e principal Warriors of y^e several Nations there what part they would act if in case an Expedition should be carried on that way this summer, which you please to acquaint y^e General of

I am D^r Sir with great esteem & regard

Y^r most obedient

Humble servant

GEO: CROGHAN.

GEORGE CROGHAN TO MAJOR GATES,

FORT PITT, May the 20th 1760.

SIR,

Yesterday I was favoured with yours of the 7th instant by Brigadier General Monckton's orders; and you may assure the General I will continue to promote the good of his Majesty's Indian Interest as far as in my power and with as much frugality as the service will admit of. As I was at a loss to know who commanded this way the ensuing campaign, I made bold to write you a few days ago, which I hope you have received by this time. By that you will see the situation I was left in by General Stanwix, just at a time when the Indians of different Nations were collecting together here to hold a general Conference, a copy of which you must have seen, as Major Tullikan took it down with him for the General's perusal. All things are quiet here and likely to remain so in my opinion, unless some unforeseen accident happen. I have fitted out above one hundred Indian Warriors against the Cherokees with the approbation of the Commanding officer here; tho' it is attended with expence yet I flatter myself my conduct will

meet with the General's approbation, as I am of opinion it will answer two good ends at this juncture, first it is employing all those Western Nations against their ancient and natural enemies the Cherokees who at present threaten the Destruction of the Frontiers of the Southern British Colonies. And secondly it is taking off that great Burthen of maintaining so many Indians as we have been hitherto obliged to do. And if those nations be properly encouraged to carry on the War against the Southern Indians, all the young men of every nation will be fully employed that way. Our communication will be safe here from that cursed practice of stealing horses, which is all we have to fear in my opinion. It is true we may be alarmed by flying reports which will quicken us and forward the Works here, but do no hurt unless hastening the Troops up, for this Country tho' it is fertile, does not produce Loadstone as Philadelphia does.

You see by the last Conferences that some Traders are gone into the Indian Country to Renew their Acquaintance with the Indians, and more applied for, it is a step that must be taken some time, and in my opinion the sooner the better, as it will remove all Jealousies from the Indians minds, and convince them we do not mean to revenge their past Misconduct towards us.

The Indians who come here to trade frequently bring in Prisoners & deliver up, to whom I am obliged to make presents of Rum, as General Stanwix made it a custom. I have not been able to break through it as yet tho' it is very expensive. As the General Conference for the Spring is over, I expect no more Meetings with the Indians till late in the Fall, unless his Majestys service should oblige us to call them together. The Indians of all Nations are gone home well satisfied, and quite easy in their minds to all appearances, as well as I can judge.

There are numbers of the Six Nation Indians and Deleways settling and Planting both up and down the River,

and Numbers of all Nations Talk of Removing and settling on this side of the Lakes, this Fall, and some have planted this spring on this side of the Lakes and determined to abandon the French Interest.

Inclosed I send you a List of such Goods as are Necessary for the Indian service this Campaign, as to the Quantity it is impossible for me to judge at present what may be wanting & if the Indians this way are to be employed, in the War either against the Southward Indians or elsewhere it is full time I knew it.

Pray make my Dutifull Compliments to General Monckton and acquaint him that I have sent Indian spies to Fort D'Troit, and Captain Montour through the Indian Countrys to sound the Indians in case an Expedition should be carried on against D'Troit, and to press the delivery of all our Prisoners immediately. On their return I will report to him what Intelligence they bring, or if any thing worthy his Notice come within my knowledge before, I will constantly Report every thing relative to my Department as he has ordered

I am,

Sir,

With great Regard

Your most obedient humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN.

To HORATIO GATES Esquire
Major of Brigade.

FORT PITT May the 22^d 1760.

A Six Nation Indian who has Lived many Years amongst the Weyondotts arrived here last Night from Fort D'Troit gives me the following Intelligence, viz^t That it is Twenty Days since he left Fort D'Troit, and the day before he set off the French Commandant sent of a Party of Twenty Ottawaies to Niagara for an English Prisoner to give them

Intelligence, as they expect the English and Six Nations will attack that place this summer. He says the Inhabitants about D'Troit are much Distrest with the want of Provisions and but few of them have planted this spring, as they frequently say what signifies their planting for the English to reap. Indian goods are very scarce there the Commanding officer having taken all for his Masters service, and sells none or gives any to any Indians except those who will engage to defend the place against the English. He further says, that about Thirty five days ago the Ottawaws, Chipaways, Kecopes & Shougheys called the Weyondotts to a great Council, at which they Complained heavily of the Treatment they had received from the Six Nations last year at the taking Niagara, by killing and scalping several of their People, and in particular Two great Captains, and said they suspected the Six Nations had some further design against them, in Conjunction with the English, as they did not send their Deputys agreeable to their Promise to Condole with them, and renew their ancient Friendship. However they said they would wait Two Months longer to see if they would come, if they did not, they would be Confirmed in their Opinion and make such a Push against the Six Nations and English on the Ohio as would give them sufficient satisfaction for the loss they sustained at Niagara. Tho' at the same time declared they would Chuse to be at Peace with the English as the French were not able to supply them with Goods, but said it would be impossible to strike the Six Nations without striking the English likewise, as they were so closely connected.

The Commandant of Fort D'Troit has lately Reported to all the Indians that the French have retaken Quebec and entirely killed and taken all the English that were in Garrison there.

This Indian I employed last Fall to come to me this Spring as soon as he could hear the result of the Indians Councils, and he is of opinion that if an Expedition be

carried on this summer against D'Troit with any Considerable Number of Troops and Indians that all Nations of Indians will withdraw from the French & either stand Neuter or Assist the English on the first Notice they have from them. But if a small Number of Troops should go to reduce that place he is of opinion the Ottawaws, Chipaways, Kecopes & Shougheys will assist the French to defend it.

This Indian has lived fourteen years at D'Troit and says he is well acquainted with all the settlement and tells me the French can't make up more than Eight hundred men with the Garrison and Militia, and says the latter is much Dispirited & Dejected, so that he thinks it would be an Easy Conquest. He says there was a flying Report before he left that place, that there was an Army to come from the Mississippi to join them at D'Troit, but as the French have been telling the Indians so every Moon since Niagara was taken, none of the Indians believe there is any Truth in the Report.

GEORGE CROGHAN TO MAJOR GATES

FORT PITT May the 23^d 1760.

SIR,

Inclosed I send you a Piece of Intelligence which I received yesterday evening from an Indian of good reputation who I had employed last fall to bring me the earliest notice of any designs the Enemy or Indians in their interest might form against us, which you will please to deliver General Monckton for his perusal. I likewise inclose a Letter for Sir William Johnson with a Copy of the same, which you will please to forward to him. I can't help thinking but the Six Nations have acted wrong in not

sending before now Deputys to Condole with those Nations on account of their loss at Niagara, as it is a custom with all Nations of Indians in such Cases.

There was a Virginia soldier killed and scalped near Brushy Run Sunday Night last. I sent an Indian and a white man immediately to the place if possible to track the Party that done the Murder, who returned & report to me that they could not find any signs of a Party nor do they believe there was above one Man, so that I am of opinion it must be some Indian who has been abused here in his Liquor by the Soldiers, that has done it by way of taking private Revenge as there is no Medium in such cases with Indians. And tho' there has been all the care possible taken to prevent Quarrels between the Indians & Soldiers, yet it is impracticable while there is such large Quantitys of Spirituous Liquors suffered to be brought here. I will use all Methods in my Power to find out the Murderer, and Demand him of the Nation he belongs to that he may be brought to justice.

If there should be any thing designed by the French or their Indians from over the Lakes this way, or against Niagara, if any Troops should arrive at D'Troit from Mississippi by any of the Illinois Country I shall soon know the truth of it, as I have sent some trusty Mohawks as Spies to D'Troit.

The Indian goods are much wanting as I have not a Penny worth but what I am obliged to purchase at the worst hand, so hope you will order them up as soon as possible, & the sooner some Troops could be sent up here the more Respectable we would appear to our Indian Friends, and keep our Enemies in awe.

With the advice of some Six Nation Indians that have built a small Town about five Miles up the River, I have sent this Intelligence to the Six Nations for their Consideration and hopes they will send some Deputys imme-

diately to Quiet the Minds of those Indian Nations who live over the Lakes.

I am,

Sir with great Respect and Regard

Your most Humble servant

GEO: CROGHAN.

P.S. Sir, I will be obliged to you if you let me know what time you expect the General will be on the Communication between Bedford and Ligonier as I propose meeting him.

To HORATIO GATES Esquire
Major of Brigade.

COL. BOUQUET TO GEN^l MONCKTON

REAR FORT LOUDOUN 3^d June 1760.

SIR,

I desired Major Gates to inform you that the four Companies R. A. marched yesterday from Carlisle. I received since upon the Road your Letter of the 28th & forwarded the Express to Col. Byrd.

You have heard by the Return of Ennis that all was quiet at Pittsburgh. I shall notwithstanding lose no time in marching the four Companies to Bedford & sending the hundred men to Ligonier. And if any alteration of Circumstances should make it necessary I will not fail to march with the utmost Expedition to the upper Forts with all the Troops I can collect.

I shall transmit to you the Intelligences I recieve, & agreeable to your orders open the Letters directed to you from the Posts beyond Loudoun where I shall be to morrow morning.

The Tools to repair the Roads are much wanted especially Falling axes.

I am with great Respect

Sir,

Your most obedient &
most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

Gen^l MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME

FORT LITTLETON 7th June 1760.

SIR,

I received this moment the two Inclosed. The Case complained of is of a nice Nature, as the revengeful genius of the Indians will carry them any length when offended, and tho' it be hard to suffer tamely such repeated Insults, If you permit me to give my opinion, I think that it might perhaps be more prudent to dissemble till we are better provided at Pittsburgh, forbidding in the meantime to buy any Horses of Indians, & trying what Croghan could do by way of Negotiations as we have not yet sufficient Forces to afford Escorts to all the Convoys.

The four Companies are arrived at this Post & are to proceed to morrow for Bedford. The Roads are so bad that most of the Waggons do overset, partly owing to the last heavy Rains, and more to the neglect of the Commanding officer of Loudon & Ligonier in not repairing the Road this spring. I have ordered their men upon it.

Wheelwrights are much wanted at these two Posts, as several Waggons are daily breaking. They would be paid by the Country People for their Work, and might be allowed besides some Pay as a further Encouragement.

I propose going myself to morrow to Bedford to get

every thing ready to march immediately the 100 men to Ligonier.

I am very respectfully

Sir,

Your most obed^t &
most humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

Brigad^t General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME

FORT BEDFORD 10th June 1760.

SIR

The four Companies R. A. arrived here yesterday. I am sorry to inform you that I never have seen the Roads above Loudoun, so bad as they are.

Two Waggons attempted a few days ago to go to Ligonier with only 1200 W^t & tho' they put ten Horses to one Waggon they are Stalled on the Top of the Allegheny, and can proceed no further. We must be reduced to the Pack Horses till the Weather is settled and the Roads can be repaired.

Irwin marched yesterday with the 80 Horses for the Works at Pittsburgh, loaded with forage.

I send you the Returns of the stores at this Post. The store Houses having been made in haste, and with green Planks, are in very bad order. I have directed Cap^t Ourry to fit out & floor two large granaries for the forage, as the waste must be great in the Condition they are at present.

I received your orders in Major Gates's Letter of the 7th Cap^t Shloper marches with his Company completed to 100 R. F. to Reinforce the Garrison at Ligonier, & you will see by the Inclosed Return that after leaving here two Captains (including Ourry) four subs. & 200 men, I shall only have left to march with me to Pittsburgh, one sub. & 20 men.

There are no Provincial Troops here, and I hear nothing of Col. Byrd.

I shall join Cap^t Shloper the 12th at Stoney Creek, March the 13th to Ligonier, from whence I shall proceed to Pittsburgh.

The Return of Artillery stores can not be exact till Capt Hay makes a new survey of the whole, and the forage can not be measured till the new stores are ready, which will be in about a Week or 10 days.

I am very respectfully

Sir,

Your most obed^t & most

Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

P.S. All was well at Pittsburgh the 5th Inst; as a number of Planks are daily wanted here to repair the stores, and other uses, a saw Mill would save time & money, and there is a good seat for one.

H. B.

SAME TO SAME.

NEW YORK 5th June 1760

SIR,

I have spoke to my neighbour Bayard who tells me that M^r Archbold has mentioned the payment of M^r Seymour's hundred pounds as a thing he should do, but had not yet done it. The first opportunity he imagines however will bring proper orders about it. The affair of Quebec sounded badly indeed and was in reality bad enough, Colonel Burton's chaplain, the refugee Jesuit, was immediately sent away in the Bomb that arrived at Boston, and tells the story, not you may imagine in a military way, thus — when Brig^r Murray had notice of the approach of the French, he called a Council of warr, it was unanimously resolv'd to meet them out of the town,

under cover of a breastwork, that was partly finished. Whither they brought two pieces of cannon to each Battalion, intrenching tools &c, & waited the attack, which was made thrice faintly, & as Col. Burton judg'd, appear'd nothing but a decoy. Twice the General preserved his temper, but the third time could stand it no longer, and ordered the light infantry into the woods, supported by the grenadiers. As soon as the enemy had led them far enough, they faced about and almost surrounded them, drove the light infantry upon the grenadiers, the grenadiers upon the main body, and in a moment all was confusion, which the enemy availed themselves of, and pursued so closely that we lost every thing outside of the walls. Excuse proper terms and phrases, neither the parson nor myself are masters of them. The enemy were supposed to be about twelve thousand strong but short of provisions, and flattered them selves with the sight of a fleet to their assistance. Not a syllable has been heard of Lord Colvill since he passed Louisbourg the 23^d April, but a report prevails here, which carries a plausible appearance, and is pretty much attended to. It says, the enemy were repulsed and had abandoned the siege after losing a great many men; three Indians who left Montreal 18th ult. and brought this report, say it came up to them there, two days before they left it, and put the whole place into tears. We have other flying stories, which seem to confirm it, but we wait with great impatience for something more authentic. Col. Burton is not wounded at all; M^r Koller is, its thought, mortally — Col. Welsh & Capt. Luce severely, Fraser slightly, Young a prisoner again.

I am, with respect

Y^r mo. humb. serv^t

JNO. WATTS

All your friends are well, and beg to be remembered to you. Gen^l Amhersts provincial heroes assemble slowly,

and you know his Battalions are thin. Things carry the appearance of a backward campaign. This way, I wish it may be otherwise. Col. Murray wrote you from hence in his way to Albany, I mentioned the house to him.

RICHARD PETERS TO GEN^L MONCKTONPHILADELPHIA 10th June 1760.

SIR,

We have not the least news of any kind. General Gage is gone with General Amherst, who I suppose stays or goes from Oswego according as the Bateaus are in readiness.

The Jamaica Negroes, it is said, are reduced to a very small part of the fastnesses of the West End of the Island, and are in a great manner subdued, at least no more apprehensions of danger as to their ungrateful Insurrection.

A most abundant Harvest & dry weather for these last ten days.

25 Indians from the head branches of Susquahannah arrived here last night wth three Captive Children.

Mr Post is returned, having gone no farther than to some Indian Town on the Cayuga Branch of the Susquahannah. It seems that the Senecas would not suffer any white man to pass thro' their Country. He would have found out all the Indian Politicks had he pursued his Journey with Teedyuscung to the place of Rendezvous, over the Ohio. Teedyuscung & several Chiefs of the Delawares, Naaticokes & other Indians being on the Susquahannah, are gone to the great *Treaty* Congress of Indians which meets in one of the Owendat Towns at or near Junundat on the South West End of Lake Erie. They go to Kuskusky & Muskingum & there take their

further Rout as King Beaver shall direct. Mr Croghan knows this matter I suppose better than any account that Mr Post can give. I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

BEDFORD June the 11th in the Evening.

SIR,

The inclosed arrived this moment, Col. Byrd's letter was under Cover of Cap^t Ourry, who broke both seals in opening his Letter, they sticking together; as I was present I read Col. Byrd's Letter, but have not wrote to him, as I heard from Major Gates that you had sent him lately orders to march here. This Weather will I hope soon make the Roads to Ligonier practicable for Waggon. As we have no forage up, all the Pack Horses are loaded with it. It is very necessary to have more of them as there is no dependancy on the Country People in bad Weather.

Major Walters & Capt. Gordon are arrived. The first stays here till you come, with the 200 men R. A. Capt. Gordon will look over the stores to morrow, & direct the proper Repairs.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient

& most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

G. CROGHAN TO MAJ. GATES

FORT PITT June 17th 1760.

SIR,

I was favoured with yours of the 8th dated at Carlisle, on the 14th. and shall observe the Generals orders Communicated in that Letter and obey them punctually.

Inclosed I send you a piece of Intelligence which I received this day for the Generals perusal, great part of which I can not give Credit to tho' I make no doubt but the French will endeavour to push every thing in their Power to attempt to recover this Post, but as such a distance up Stream and this Season of y^e Year when the Rivers are low I can't think they will attempt to bring up an Army with sufficient Artillery to attack this place. I rather think they may have some succor, coming to D'Troit to enable the Garrison there to defend themselves against us who they certainly expect to attack them this Summer, however if there be any Truth in this Report I shall soon know it as I have a Spy in the Waughweoughtennes Country who I can Depend on but I am of opinion they only Report this to keep up the drooping spirits of the Indians who live about them and to endeavour to throw the Nations settled this Way into Confusion by alarming them.

As to the Mohawk Indian being put into Prison I make no doubt of it, but as the Weyondotts relate it by preventing the other Nations from putting their design in Execution it appears to me as if they of all Nations had yet the greatest Regard for the French or that they want to make their Nation appear to us the Head of all Western Indians. They are to be sure the most sensible & best Behaved Nation this way, but at the same time no Nation has Behaved so Ill as they have done this Spring in Stealing our Horses.

If this Intelligence should be confirmed or any part of it with any colour of truth I will send it you by a Special Express.

I am,

Sir your most Obedient &
Humble Servant

GEO: CROGHAN.

P.S. Inclosed I send you a small sketch of the Country from the Forks of Mississippi to D'Troit where you will see the carrying Place from Wabash to the Creek that empty into the Lake.

To HORATIO GATES Esquire
Major of Brigade.

TO MAJOR GATES.

INDORSED INDIAN INTELLIGENCE FROM CAPT. CROGHAN.

JUNE the 17th (1760)

A Weyondott Indian who lives on this side of the Lakes at a place called Chinundeda and came here the 15th but getting drunk on the other side of the River did not come over till this day, gives me the following Intelligence.

He says it is twelve days since he left his Town,—that a Weyondott Indian from Fort D'Troit came there two days before he set off and informed the Indians that the Commanding Officer of Fort D'Troit had received a Letter from the carrying Place at the Head of Wabash acquainting him that there was a Detachment of French arrived there with Ammunition and Provisions from Mississippi and that the whole Country was raised and on their March up this River to attack this Post, and that they had the Warriors of three Nations of Indians with them, that he the Commanding officer of Fort D'Troit had orders to hold himself in Read-

iness to March when he received orders, with the Troops and Militia of that Settlement and what Indians he could prevail to join him, and that he had sent his Children the Weyandotts notice thereof that they might prepare themselves. Further that he had received Letters likewise from the Governor of Montreal that there was a large Army coming from there to take Niagara in order to open the passage into this Country that he might come and take care of his Children the Indians, Clothe them and give them his Good advice. The same Messinger told that one of the Mohawks that went from here this Spring to D'Troit was put in Prison by the Commanding Officer and that the Ottawas, Putewatimies and Weyandotts held a grand Council in which it was Determined to Demand the Prisoner and if refused to fall on the Garrison and Murder them all, as there was double the number of Indians that there were of French, accordingly the Indians went and Demanded the Prisoner, which the Commanding Officer refused to deliver. Then the Ottawas and Puttwatimees pushed to put their Design in Execution, but the Weyandotts perswaded them to defer it and make another Trial to get him out before they would shed so much Blood. (inclosed in the following letter)

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

FORT PITT 20th June 1760.

SIR,

I arrived the 16th at this Post which does not fully answer my Expectations. The Barracks made of green Wood or bad Bricks want already much Repair and some Parts of the Works raised in haste must be pulled down & be made up again.

The Engineers could employ two thirds more men than we have. The Chief thing we do, is to make about twenty thousand Bricks p^r day, and dig out stones for foundations.

I am obliged to send a Party upon the Roads, which comparatively are good from Stoney Creek to Pittsburg wanting only some bridging, digging, & in general to be opened much wider.

We have upwards of 700 Barrells of flour here, and 3 or four hundred at Ligonier. If besides all the R. A. & Virginians, you would spare 300 Pensilvanians for this Post, there will be employment for them.

You will find in the Inclosed for Major Gates the Indian Intelligence communicated by M^r Croghan which deserve no great Notice.

Our men being scattered the whole day in the Woods upon different services, you will perhaps find it necessary to have some advanced Redouts from the Ohio to the Mononghehela to cover us from any surprise or scalping Parties.

I am with great Respect

Sir,

Your most obedient &

most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

A. HOOPS TO BOUQUET.

CARLISLE the 9th of July 1760.

SIR,

I Received a Letter a few days ago from M^r Plumsted mentioning that I ought to have Issued only Seven Pound of Beef and Eight Pound of Flour for a Weeks Allowance to each Man.

I never knew that there was any Alteration made & (if I remember right) you told me that Nine pound of Flour & Eight pound of Beef was the Weekly Allowance settled for this Campaign, but as I have nothing to shew for my proceedings in that Respect, I now wish it had been given in General Orders, & I will be very much obliged to you, if you will mention it to the General, who I hope, will put the Matter on such a Footing, as to prevent the Contractors from charging me with giving too great Allowance.

We have no great difficulty in getting Carriages this Year as they come Willingly in Abundance.

This while past I found it difficult to Furnish the Necessary Number of Beef Cattle, but I now find my self well Provided, and Able to send up any Number that may be Demanded.

I have stopped pay from such people, as carried Loads from here & did not deliver according to their Engagem^t. Many of them having left theirs at the small Posts where there was no want of Provision.

I am S^r Your most Humble Serv^t

AD^m HOOPS.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

CAMP AT THE SECOND CROSSING OF BEAVER
CREEK 9th July Evening 1760.

SIR,

The day the Detachment left Pittsburgh, we encamped at about four miles, having followed a wrong Path we marched at least six.

The 8th every thing being put in order, we marched six miles without obstruction, but having afterwards six miles

and a half of Barren Hills without Water, the Men and Horses suffered much, and several tired.

We encamped at Camp Pleasant, good Ground, and Water, supposed 18 miles from Pittsburgh.

This day we have marched about 12 miles to this Camp, through a very hilly, swampy, and Barren ground, great scarcity of Water, several Horses have tired. I have met here Mr. Hutchins, who will give you an account of his Journey. I am sorry Major Gladwyn has so much the start of us, and you may depend that I shall lose no time in reaching Presqu' Isle, where (accidents excepted) I hope to be the 16th

I will not trouble you with all the difficulties attending our march. No Body without exception knows any thing of the Country, or distances, except the Indians, who have been constantly drunken.

The Path is very narrow, full of fallen Trees, and requires many repairs to make it passable.

The Pack Horses, having no saddles, and some no sagging their loads are continually tumbling down, and tho' we march from morning to night, halting only at noon, we make very little Way, as we must keep together.

The Indians are in good humour, and Croghan takes Pains to keep them so. I must give them a sheep every night.

Col. Mercer should if possible have some spare horses with him, as without ours we would have been obliged to leave several Loads behind.

We have Eight men missing, left on the Road, one of them, Miller of the Majors' Company had leave to go back to the fort.

I have by M^r Hutchings a Letter from Col. Haldimand dated Oswego 14th same, nothing new. General Amherst was expected there soon.

The Suttlers have not joined us yet, your orders shall be obeyed, & their Rum lodged in the stores.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient &
most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

Brigadier General MONCKTON.

Patterson informs me that Levy's Horses have almost all given up.

CROGHAN TO MAJ. GATES.

CAMP AT Y^e SECOND CROSSING BEAVER
CREEK July 10th 1760.

DEAR SIR,

We Came here yesterday about 5 o'clock which I take to be about 27 Miles from Pittsburg, We do not March so well as I expected, y^e heat of y^e weather has almost knocked up all y^e horses. Mr Hutchins met me here on his return from Presqu' Isle. He arrived there the 5th, just after y^e Troops from Niagara got there. I have sent him down to make a Report of his Journey to the General, and Desire he may be Dispatched after me, as soon as possible.

Please to acquaint y^e General that y^e Indian, who Came with M^r Hutchins tells me, that another Indian told him he had seen some Indians from over y^e Lake, who told him there were two parties of 30 Indians each on this side y^e Lake, employed by y^e French to watch y^e Motions of y^e English and, at y^e same time, their Chiefs desired them to inquire of y^e Delawares whether we were going to Detroit, as they had not heard from me on that head as they expected. I Can't think there are two such partys out tho' there may be some spys about, or perhaps those Indians

knowing of our Marching this way, may repeat it in order to get themselves employed by us. I will do every thing necessary to prevent any small party from surprising us tho' I can't believe any will attempt it & gain intelligence from Detroit. I have acquainted Coll. Bouquet of it. & I think the Report will be of service, as it will oblige us to observe a better Line of March, than we have hitherto done.

Tedeuscung is past by towards Sciota in order to hold a meeting with y^e several Western Nations there, I hear, with Messages from Governor Hamilton, w^{ch} I think is Wrong. At present all Meetings should be held at Pittsburg. I am S^r y^r most humble servant

GEO: CROGHAN.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

CAMP AT VENANGO 13th July 1760.

SIR,

We arrived here late Yesterday, and it was dark when the Rear entered in the Camp.

M^r Hutchins delivered me this moment your Letter of the 10th with one inclosed for Major Gladwyn.

We find this Place at least 80 miles distant from Pittsburg, and M^r Hutchins says that he committed that mistake in his Report in following Evans's Computation, and not his own Judgment. He was 26 hours on Horseback to join us, and as he rode a little better than three miles an hour our Calculation does not differ much.

Col. Meder was to encamp last night twenty miles from us, and as his People are lighter, I expect that he will overtake us soon.

The R. A. will be embarked as soon as they arrive, and I shall not keep any men of Major Gladwyn's Detachment.

The stockadoe Fort here is burnt to the ground, and the few Huts round it pulled down. No Iron to be seen but a few trifles.

The saw mill is hardly worth repairing. The two saws are gone, and the Dam fallen down. None of our Artificers understand saw mills, but they imagine that in a Week's time, it could be repaired so as to have one saw going.

The Allegheny is very shallow here, and scarce navigable for Canoes. Stoddert who left Pittsburgh the 4th is not yet arrived.

Having changed some of the Load and Drivers the Pack Horses go on better, but their Backs are in very bad order.

Capt. Paterson has the direction of them, and is very diligent and useful.

We have already left 13 Horses behind, dead, tired, or lost, and two Bags of flour which Col. Mercer brings up ; since my last Return, We miss one man of the Virginians, Tho^s Warner supposed to have lost himself in the Woods the 11th.

We have a few men *really* Sick to carry on horseback. Capt. Croghan goes to day to Custologa's Town with some Presents.

I beg leave to refer you to M^r Basset's Journal sent to Capt. Gordon for the description of the Road.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient and

Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

CAMP NEAR THE MINGO TOWN ON BEEF RIVER

14th July Even^g

SIR,

The Indian sent with my Letter from Venango is returned, pretending to be lame, and Mr Croghan promises to send me another from Custologa's Town.

Our Horses being not able to proceed yesterday morning, and having the Provisions to issue I halted till one in the afternoon, and marched ten miles.

This day we marched 13. The guide telling me that there is no Water for some miles further.

I have sent an Express to Presqu' Isle to desire Major Gladwin to have his Whaleboats ready to receive the R. A. the 17th and to send a Party of 50 men to repair the Bridges from Presqu' Isle to La Boeuf.

We have marched 104 miles and are yet 39 from Presqu' Isle. The Indians have lent us some Horses, without which we would have been obliged to leave several Loads behind. Six Waggon Cloath have been left at Venango recommended to Col. Mercer if he can bring them up. He has not joined us yet, and I have heard nothing of him since M^r Hutchins joined us.

We shall want some Locks for the stores, and garden seeds, chiefly Turnips.

Croghan is obliged to stay to morrow at Custologas all the Indians being drunk *with their own Rum*; he can do no Business with them at present.

I am

Sir,

Your most obed^t Hble serv^t

H. BOUQUET.

RICHARD PETERS TO GEN^L MONCKTON

PHILADELPHIA 17 July 1760.

SIR,

The Man of War is at last arrived with the last. In her came Col. Robinson & the other Officers who went over to attend the Affair of Lord Charles Hay which was happily ended by the Death of that unfortunate Lord during the Enquiry. Those Officers say that there is likely to be a Breach between the Courts of Spain & Sardinia & y^t as the National & Ministerial spirit, which by an odd Jumble of Accidents breath the same thing, are in favour of our old faithful Ally of Sardinia, we are on the Eve of a Spanish War. But as the Kings speech on the prorogueing the Parliament on the 22^d May is 16 days later than their advices, & nothing mentioned of this sort therein, it is hoped that this will blow over. The Russian Lyon is acting y^e part of the Fox, being at present on the defensive and prowling about the Austrian Camp to try if any advantage can be taken. All hopes of a Peace are vanished for this year.

By M^r Hector Allison one of the Chaplains of our Provincials, who is just come from Albany, I am told that S^r W^m Johnson has collected 1500 Indians all hearty & gone wth y^e Army, & that the villanous Tribes of Cognawago Indians are mostly come over to the Six Nations & Concert with them in assisting General Amherst. The Garrison at Louisburgh under General Whitmore were to sail with all dispatch for Quebec, this gives an additional Force of 3,000 and will prevent General Murray to make a Diversion in favour of Col. Haviland who has the Command against Isle aux Noix & that Quarter. The New England Forces, tho' less, are as Jn^o Allison tells me fuller than was expected & all are gone to Oswego. General Amherst

having had an examination & review of Men & things as they passed by & bringing up the Rear.

I know not what to say to the Carolina War. The South Carolina Gazette brings matters down to the 4th of this Instant, and is full of little marches & attacks of Indians. On the whole it is hard to say whether there will not be a general Conjunction of the Indians against us, tho' Fort Loudon keeps its Ground, & will be relieved by Col. Montgomerys detachm^t

No Fleet to the Baltick, his Majesty of Denmark joyning in the particulars with the Russian Court and the Ministers not caring at this time to provoke him.

Gen^l Stanwix had a fine Wind to get off the American shore and has made a good part of his Passage.

There are no Letters to any in this Town from London since the 13th April of any significance.

Be pleased to send the inclosed to M^r Young. My Compliments to Major Gates, Mr Russel & all my Friends.

I am

Sir,

Your Excellencys

Most obedient serv^t

RICHARD PETERS.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

CAMP AT PRESQU' ISLE 18th July 1760
in the morning.

SIR,

We arrived here yesterday at 10 in the morning having not been able to get in the 16th. The distance being at least 20 miles more than was reported, and the latter Part of the Road so swampy that had we had Rain, we could not have been here for 8 days. Major Gladwin would not embark yesterday, as the first Place where he can land is 30 miles off, but I saw them all on board early this morning.

I have heard nothing yet of Col. Mercer, but expecting him every moment, I would not detain any men of Major Gladwin: and as the navigation is full of difficulties, and the Coast very dangerous, I sent Lieut. Weeden of the Virginia Detachment with six men to Niagara that we may have Pilots if wanted.

Major Gladwin desired I would make an apology to you for his not answering your Letters, he could neither get me a Copy of the Draft of his Voyage which he promised to send from Niagara, and I recommended to Major Walters to forward it with what Provisions he could conveniently spare in sending Back Lieut. Weeden.

They could only spare us two Whale boats, and two more are to be left on this side Niagara, where there is a little stockaded Post and a serjeants Guard.

We find here a good Retrenchment of fascines and a little garden made by Major Gladwyn who has done a considerable Work in the 11 days he waited for us.

You will see, by the Return of our Provisions, what he has spared us; having kept only 8 days for the Detachment with him.

We left two men of the Virginians sick at Custologa Town, with a third to take care of them. I depend upon Col. Mercer to day, or we would be too Weak.

I have not seen Croghan since the 14th nor any of his Indians, and was again disappointed for the Express he promised me, which put it out of my Power to inform you of our Proceedings. It was happy for us to have Hutchins, or we would have been in danger of losing our Way, with those drunken Guides.

I have settled as far as I could with the Drivers who are gone back with their Horses. I recommended to Capt. Patterson to make them take with them any of their Horses left on the Road. Inclosed is the state of the whole. (NB. I gave it to Patterson.)

You will permit me to recommend to you Hutchins and

Patterson, who have been of very great service in this March and deserve to be rewarded.

Our flour is much damaged by the Sweat and sore Backs of the Horses that had no saddles, and if any more is to be sent hereafter, I think it would carry better upon what they call Wooden saddles which is a frame upon saggings, and that every load of flour should be put in *two* small Bags of about 90^{lb} each, tied together to make a well poised Load. The Horses would easily be loaded and unloaded, and the Bags could not fall in the ascent or descent, some of which are extremely steep. Horses so equipped with one Driver to six, could go 20 miles a day.

I inclose you a scrawl of the situation of this Post such as it appears to the Eye, but without any Proportion. Mr Basset will in time make a regular Survey of the Environs.

There is no grass about this place, and we must build a Flatt to carry our Beeves to the Peninsula where there are Meadows; some scythes are wanted to make Hay.

I shall not close my Letter till night in hopes to see Col. Mercer.

half an hour past 12 o'clock.

SIR,

I received this moment a Paquet from Col. Mercer who encamped last night at le Bouef, and expects to be here this afternoon.

I am very sorry that your letter for Gen^l Amhorn came too late. It would be impossible for a Whaleboat to overtake Major Gladwin, and as there is no Landing (as they told me) for 30 miles, the People would be lost in the night. As I foresee no opportunity to forward it for a long time, I must send those dispatches back to you.

I cannot return the Flour Bags, till we get some covered Place to lodge the flour. There is not a single Hut here, and as for an Escort with the Pack Horses, I could not

possibly spare a man in the situation I was. But as the Indians have behaved very civilly to us, & Cap^t Croghan who is just arrived assuring me that there is no danger, I think they could do without, But I shall send a serjeants Party of the Virginians to morrow with Col. Mercer's Horses, which will overtake the others.

We have kept here all the spare ammunion leaving only what the R. A. had in their Pouches and the 12 Rounds more per man is an equivalent for what was left by Major Gladwyn, whose men have only 8 Rounds. He had orders to take back his Tools. We have lost very few of them on the Road, having severely punished the first man who lost one. I cannot get a Return of them now but shall send it after Capt. Atleys arrival.

The 18th in the Evening.

Colonel Mercer is arrived with his Detachment 6 Beeves, 6 sheep, 11 Bags of flour, 7 Kegs of Rum & some Tools. Upon a rough calculation we have five Weeks Flour and Six Meat for 400 Men.

I beg you will send me your orders concerning the manner of paying the Labourers & artificers who are soldiers, as they have been always paid at Pittsburgh, or had Rum. If they are deprived of either, our Works will go on slowly. Cap^t Croghan who setts out to-morrow morning will deliver you this.

I am Sir,

Your most obed^t & most hble. servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

PRESQU' ISLE 19th July Evening.

SIR,

I am sorry to give you the trouble of another Letter. Capt. Croghan had this morning Intelligence that a Party of Wyandots and Taways of 20 men were lurking about this Place, and had been seen by an Indian of the Six Nations whom he sent back in quest of them with a string of Wampum to invite them to come to the Fort. Part were already embarked and the rest have followed them, having given assurances that they were not come with any Intention of hurting us, but only to reconnoitre by order of the Commanding officer at Detroit if any Forces were going that Way. We are upon our Guards, and no Body is suffered to go out of the Camp without orders. That Incident having detained Mr Croghan here, an officer of the light Infantry is arrived in a Whaleboat from Major Gladwyn's Detachment, in quest of three deserters who left them this morning at 35 miles from hence. Inclosed are their description in case they should appear at any of our Ports.

This gives me a favourable opportunity to forward your Letter to General Amherst, and to write to Niagara for a Forge and a Smith, and several other heavy articles wanted here, tho' I am [in] doubt if Major Walters will take upon himself to send me those articles besides Provisions and ammunition, as he has no orders from you. We begin to-morrow our Works, which I am afraid will take us too much time for want of several Tools and Necessaries a list of which (a frightfull one) Basset incloses to Cap^t Gordon.

I am &c.

H. BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

COLONEL MERCER TO GEN. MONCKTON.

PRESQUE ISLE 19th July 1760.

SIR,

I had the honour to receive your letter by Mr Hutchins and made all the dispatch my weak horses would bear to get up with Col. Bouquet, but could only push up here yesterday. The embarkation of the Troops was not delayed a moment on that account. By my computation the distance from Fort Pitt to this Place is 105 Miles, the road tho' very swampy in many places much better than I expected to find it, and with a few improvements such as widening the Path or at least deadening the Trees, for some yards on each side where the ground is swampy would render it always approachable for Pack-horses, at such seasons of the year when the Rivers are too low to answer the purpose better. In Winter & Spring I should think it impossible to bring loaded horses thro' the Cedar Swamp near Le Beuff. Some Taway & Wiandot Indians have been employed by the Enemy at Detroit to view us, and discover our Intentions here; part of them have been on the Road to Le Beuff and we hear to day they are returned without attempting a Prisoner or Scalp.

I have the Honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient and

most humble servant

HUGH MERCER.

General MONCKTON.

R. PETERS TO MONCKTON.

PHILADELPHIA 24th July 1760

SIR,

Your Favours of the 14th Instant reached my hands last night. Mr Ennis has had a severe reprehension,

but he will never offend again. He was taken very ill as he was setting out and the stage going off at the same time he gave the Packet to the Care of the Rider, not being master of his reason at the time he was taken ill or he would have sent his son with it.

Lord knows when we are to hear from England no Packet being expected this fortnight as there was none in England to take off the May Mail so both May & June Mails are to come together. The Papers however set forth all the Occurrences of the Month of May & shew the Situation of all the Armies.

Fifteen Millions raised already, & a Vote of Credit for above one Million more passed before the Prorogation of the Parliament are a full Proof that another Campaign must be supported and y^t it is uncertain what turn that Spain may take.

I have a Letter from my Nephew dated at Oswego the 6th Instant wherein he says that that morning at Sun Rise Two Vessels appeared on the Lake which with a Glass were discovered to be French, they came to reconnoitre the Fort & were almost within Reach of their Cannon at 4 that afternoon when they were saluted with a Discharge of a 24 Pounder which was repeated 6 times, whereupon they steered off and discharged a six Pounder at an armed Bateau which was sent out having no other vessels in the Harbour as Commodore Loring was not returned from Niagara with the Vessels he was desired to bring there for the Convoy over the Lake.

We have no Vessels in from Halifax or from Louisburgh, whereby to hear any thing of them.

The Letters to General Amherst, Gov^r Delancey & M^{rs} Gates were forwarded by this days Post.

It is a prodigious piece of good fortune that the Posts at Presque Isle and Venango are likely to be taken without giving immediate Umbrage to the Indians. They may chunner and fret at it but the murmur will grow fainter & gentler every day.

How can you execute the great matters entrusted to you with so small a force? Our Provincial Commissioners are clear of Opinion that there are too many officers & have moved the diminishing their Number to the Gov^r & he has desired me to send a Copy of their sentiments to M^r Young w^{ch} I have done & who is to confer with you on the subject, of w^{ch} I take the freedom to advertise you that you may not be surprized at our taking upon us to know more of the matter than the General.

The Weather has been very rainy, exceeding close and warm, & the Glass is now at 85. The Harvest is abundant & herewards very well got in.

Some reputable People from New York say S^r W^m Johnson joyns Gen^l Amherst with one thousand Indians. If so, La Galette will not obstruct his Passage to Montreal. I have really nothing from my friends at New York & I verily believe it is because they have nothing worth writing.

The Flags lately taken & carried to Jamaica & Providence were granted by Gov^r Bernard who has made, it is said, a sum not much superior to Gov^r Denny.

I dread Pownals officious meddling with the affairs of our Province & helping the wrong side by means of his Intimacy with Mr Franklin.

I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

GOV^r HAMILTON TO GEN^l MONCKTON

PHILADELPHIA 24th July 1760.

SIR,

I make no doubt but you have been already informed of the Invitation sent the last Summer by the Indians over

the Ohio to those settled on the Waters of the Susquahannah to come & meet them in a great Council which they proposed should be held in one of the Owendot Towns at the South West End of Lake Erie, and that they were there to consider and agree upon what measures should be taken as well with regard to the English as the Six Nations with whom they pretend to be not a little disobliged.

As Teedyuscung with the Messengers from those Ohio Indians came to this City on purpose to inform us, that he was very respectfully invited to make one at that Meeting, and to bring with him Deputies from the several Nations who have associated themselves under him, & thro' him held several Treaties with this Government; and as they requested our advice on that occasion, & desired our assistance to fit them out for so large a Journey and to send some suitable Persons with Teedyuscung who could remind him of all his Transactions with this Government, I complied with their Request; and in the Month of May Teedyuscung set out on this Business, taking along with him M^r Frederick Post & M^r John Hay, who were both of them agreeable to him, & such persons as I could confide in to observe and report whatever should be done at that great Meeting.

So favourable an Opportunity presenting itself, I sent by M^r Post several Messages informing the Indians of the Terms on which the Peace was concluded by Teedyuscung and his associated Indians and of their solemn stipulation to collect and deliver up all our Prisoners; And General Amherst who was made acquainted with this Affair, likewise sent by M^r Post a very important Message to inform these Indians of His Majesties Purpose to take Post wherever the French had done it, but without any Intent of Making Settlements and if this Message as was proposed had been delivered in time it might have rendered the minds of the Indians easy & have had several other good effects.

But now I am to inform your Excellency that unfortunately for the Publick Service M^r Post and M^r Hayes are returned having proceeded no further on their Journey than an Indian Town called Passycotcung, situate about 80 miles up the Cayuga Branch of the Susquahannah, near the Seneca Country, and entirely under the Influence of the Senecas. Here it seems, under pretence of there being no road opened thro' that Country for any Messengers, they were threatened with an Assault on their Lives, and in a public Council held on the Occasion they were advised to return home. I need not trouble you with the reasons of this unexpected Obstruction because you will see them fully set down in M^r Posts Journal, Copy whereof he is preparing for you.

Notwithstanding this Disappointment which is much to be lamented I am well assured by what M^r Post says, that Teedyuscung is very sincerely the Friend of Peace and of the English, & will, by the assistance of one Isaac Stille who was present at most of the Treaties and is well acquainted with all the Publick Transactions make a full and faithful Relation of what has passed between him & this Government and do all he can to Engage those numerous Tribes of Western Indians to enter into and confirm the Peace and deliver up our prisoners.

But the Misfortune is that the important Message entrusted by General Amherst to M^r Post which was a very main point, has mis-carried, for M^r Post, knowing well how apt Indians are to give their own Turns to Messages, and being apprehensive y^t it might be misunderstood and represented in a wrong manner, did not think proper to give it over to Teedyuscung, and therefore has brought it with him together with the Belts and Strings of Wampum and delivered them to me.

To supply this Mis-carriage and to prevent as much as possible, tho it is now full late, any wrong notions that may enter into the minds of the Indians, which are already

too much inclined to Jealousy, Mr. Post is of opinion with me that the Sentiments and Purposes of General Amherst which are well expressed in the Indian style in that Message should be formally communicated to the Indians at the very first meeting that should be held with any of their considerable and principal Chiefs.

The Original Message is therefore enclosed and the Belts and Wampum to be made up into Strings are delivered to M^r Ennis to be sent along with this Letter, and as they are charged to M^r Post on account of General Amherst by M^r Pemberton who only had Wampum at that time I beg the favour of you to order the inclosed acc^t of it to be discharged. —

You will likewise be so good as to let the Indians know the Generals Care in the Early sending of this Message and by what means it came to miscarry that no blame may be chargeable on him for want of giving the Indians the earliest notice that was in his Power.

I am not without hopes but you will hear of, if not from, Teedyuscung, and perhaps Isaac Stille who speaks English & has been at Pittsburgh may be dispatched to your Excellency to give you an account of Teedyuscungs Proceedings & what has passed at the great Meeting. If Teedyuscung or any of his Indians should think proper to come to Pittsburgh or to any place on the Communication I most heartily recommend it to your Excellency to give orders that he or they be well received and supplied with Necessaries. —

I am

Your Excellencys Most
obedient humble servant

JAMES HAMILTON.

His Excellency General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

PRESQU' ISLE 29th July 1760.

SIR,

The 21st Instant I sent a Party to reconoitre the Peninsula, and see whether the Detroit Indians were gone. They returned the 22^d early, and reported that they had seen no Enemies, and had found Plenty of grass in the Peninsula and one Canoe. As the only Whale Boat we had then fit for use had only brought over Part of the Detachment I ordered a Serjeant and six men of the remainder to bring that Canoe with them. About 3 in the afternoon two of those men returned to the Camp and reported that the Canoe being too leaky they were coming back by Land when they were fired upon by 20 french & Indians near the Neck of the Peninsula. I sent immediately a Party of 100 to the Place, who found the Serjeant alive wounded by seven Buck-shot, two of our men killed & scalped, and two supposed to have been taken. This is the same party that had assured M^r Croghan's Messenger that they were not come to hurt us. If I had some Whale Boats I would have destroyed their Canoes in their retreat if not retaken the Prisoners. I hope M^r Belitre will one day have this visit repaid.

Being obliged to send our Cattle and Horses to the Peninsula for want of grass here, I have built a Redout upon it, opposite the Fort, and a Pen under it defended by a Lieut. & 22 men, and secured the neck of the Isthmus with a strong Block house for a serjeant & 12, as it is very dangerous to land on the Western shores, where the sea runs very high. I imagine these Posts are very safe, and if attacked by a Superior force, we shall soon have a flatt to bring the men and Cattle over.

An Indian appeared two days ago upon the Neck who perceiving our Post retreated directly.

There is no Timber here fit for Whale Boats, they must be built at Niagara. We could build a Pilot Boat if you think it necessary, & if we can get the Rigging, sails, anchors &c. from Pittsburgh or Niagara. In that Case Capt. Woodward would be very proper to reconnoitre the Lake and even Fort Detroit.

One or two Pettereroes or Cohorns with a few shells, would be of service here. We have nothing to give as signal of alarm, and recall our Working Parties.

We want spare flints, scythes, and Tobacco for the Indians. Inclosed is a List of the goods left us by Mr Croghan. The few Indians we had have left us. I expect in two or three days to hear from Niagara, and from Capt. Atlee, whose detachment is wanted to accelerate the Works.

We have now a Granary for flour, and the rest of the Provisions and stores is under Cover in the Fort. The Bags will be sent back by the first opportunity.

The Working Parties being much scattered in the Woods I have allowed Mr Basset an assistant to oversee them. I hope you will approve of it.

I am with great Respect Sir,

Your most obed^t &

Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

CAPT CROGHAN'S JOURNAL TO PRESQUE ISLE AND INTELLIGENCE RECEIVED LATELY.

A JOURNAL COMMENCED AT FORT PITT.

August 1st 1760.

The 7th of July 1760, I set out for Presque Isle in company with Colonel Bouquet and a Number of the Royal American and Virginia Troops to take Post there and send

a Detachment to Niagara. I was accompanied by Custolaga and several other Indians. Marched this day about five Miles, two Miles of which through a fine Bottom & the other three Miles up a small Run to the head of it, where we encamped on the side of a Hill, where several fine Springs take their rise, which makes the Run we Marched up.

The 8th Decamped early in the morning and Marched six Miles along a fine Ridge well Timbered and good Soil to the partings of the Road that takes off to the Kuskuske, from thence we Marched seven Miles across several Hills, some of which were Barren to a Run that emptys itself into Beaver Creek and there we Encamped in a Barren Savanna.

The 9th Decamped Early and Marched Seven Miles through Pleasant Woods, well Timbered and good Soil, to a small Draught of Beaver Creek which Runs through barren low ground at the Foot of a steep hill, where we made a halt for three Hours, then Marched four Miles to the first Crossing of Beaver Creek, over some Hills well Timbered and good Soil where we Encamped about 4 o'clock, this Creek abounds with Plenty of Fish.

The 10th Decamped early and Marched through a very Pleasant, level Country, well timbered and Rich Fertile Soil, but ill Watered, to a small draught of the second Crossing of Beaver Creek, where we encamped about Thirteen Miles. This Run passes through very Pleasant Barrens of good Food.

The 11th Decamped and Marched to the Second Branch of Beaver Creek two Miles, the Bottom of which is one entire Rock all across, and below the Ford Twenty Yards is a Fall from Rock to Rock about 10 Yards, from thence we Marched through level pleasant Woods Six Miles to a Spring, where we made a Halt, then Marched four Miles to a Run and Encamped.

The 12th Decamped Early and Marched Six Miles through

level Woods, then entered amongst a Number of Fallen Trees, blown down by a Hurricane across the Path for Six Miles in length, level Country with Timber and good Soil to Sandy Creek, the going down to which is very steep and long, after crossing the Creek, passed through a fine level Bottom about half a Mile long, then ascended a hill which continued Stony near four Miles where we had a steep descent to Venango. Venango is situate in a large fine Bottom, on the bank of the Ohio, the food all Clover & Wild Timothy, the works are all destroyed except the Saw mill which is standing, but that appears as if it would be attended with as much trouble to repair it as to build a new one.

The 13th I set off before the Troops with Custologa and the Indians to his Town, in Order to Collect the Indians that live near that place to hold a Conference with them, soon after we set out Crossed French Creek a little above the Mouth, and Marched through a pleasant country, of good Land, well Timbered and Watered, Sixteen Miles to Custologa's Town, which is situate near French Creek in a Pleasant Savanna, fine Land all about it, well Timbered and Watered. The Indians with me fired off their Guns, upon which we were immediately saluted from the Town with the Firing of their Guns three several times. In this Town is about 40 Houses, and when all are at home, there is about 120 fighting Men.

The 14th Colonel Bouquet and the Troops Marched by the Town, with whom I went up the Creek about two Miles to a Six Nation Village and Returned at Night, but the Troops Marched on with whom I sent M^r Hutchins.

The 15th the Indians were all assembled in Council at Custologa's Town when I made them the following Speech—

BRETHREN,

His Majesty's General now at Pittsburgh has sent me to acquaint you, that it is necessary for his Majesty's Service

to open the Communication from Pittsburgh to Presqu'Isle and establish a Post there, and desire that you and your Brethren here may be assisting to any Troops that may at any time, be passing by your Settlements, that way, and he assures all Nations of Indians by their Belt of Wampum, that they will have his Majesty's Protection as long as they behave well to us, and you may be assured that the General will render any of your People any Services in his Power for the Establishing a lasting Peace and Friendship with all Nations.

A BELT.

BRETHREN,

By this Belt I have the Generals Orders to Invite all Nations of Indians to come to Pittsburgh to the intended Conference to renew and brighten the Chain of Friendship, and Receive a Present sent him by the King of Great Britain for all Nations of Indians to the Sun setting.

A BELT.

The Indians made the following Answer.

BRETHREN,

We have heard the Messages you have delivered us from the General, and you may Assure him that we will acquaint all Nations of it, and meet him at Pittsburgh to renew our Ancient Friendship, and render you all the services we can, in keeping the Road safe for our Brethren to Travel through our Country.

A STRING.

Then I delivered the Goods sent by the General to Clothe the Women and Children at that Place, which was equally distributed, and when all was Clothed, they came and Returned thanks in a Formal manner.

Immediately after the Conference, Colonel Mercer came there, when I Joined him and Marched Two Miles to a Six Nation Village where we Encamped.

The 16th Decamped early and passed by another Six Na-

tion Village and from thence through a tolerable good Country, Seventeen Miles, to where we crossed French Creek.

The 17th Decamped early and Marched through a Swampy Country and a Bad Road, to Le Beauf, Thirteen Miles.

The 18th Decamped early and at Ten o'clock arrived at Presque'Isle, being fourteen Miles, most of the way is a Chesnut Swamp part of which is laid with Loggs, but much out of Repair.

The 19th early in the morning I sent two Indians out to Reconnoitre the Adjacent Woods and about seven o'clock one of them Returned, and told me that he had seen four Indians and spoke to them, (two Wyandotts and two Chepeways) they told him there were Twenty of their Party, that they were employed by the French at Detroit to come there as Spys and to bring an English Prisoner with them, but that their Nations had determined not to Commit any Hostilities against the English, and desired he might assure me, that they would Return without doing any Mischief. I sent him back to invite them into Camp, but when he had got to where their Canoes were, part of them were set off, so the Rest did not chuse to come without the whole Party. They told this Indian, that they would not have come at the desire of the French, but that their own Nations were afraid that we were going to Destroy Detroit without giving them Notice.

The 20th Returned from Presqu' Isle to a Mingoe House three Miles from Le Beauf.

The 21st Marched to some Mingoe Cabins two Miles from Custologa's Town.

The 22nd Received the following Intelligence from the Twightwee Country by two Indians, viz. —

That they set off from their Town 19 Days ago, the day before they left home Twenty Eight Battoes with Provisions passed by up the Creek to a Carrying place on their way to Detroit; with those Battoes there were no Soldiers, but

about One Hundred Country People. They told the Indians there that 300 Men with 70 Battoes and Twelve Pieces of Cannon were coming after them, and would be there soon, and after them One Hundred Men with a great Number of Battoes, all from New Orleans, that when they got to Detroit they were to go to Niagara to meet an Army from Montreal to take that place, and then to come back and drive the English from Pittsburgh over the great Mountain. The Indians did not believe what they told them but made them this answer, Father be Strong, we have made Peace with our Brethren the English, and you must fight your own Battles.

Those two Indians were sent by an Indian Spy, who I have had in that Twightwee Town all this Spring, he told them that he would stay there a month longer, to see if any more French passed by that way, as they could go no other way to Detroit, and then set off for this place.

The 25th arrived at Fort Pitt.

The 29th A Six Nation Indian came here and says he was sent from their Country, to acquaint the General, and Indians here, that none of the Six Nation Deputies would be at the intended Conference to be held here as was expected, but they intend to send here in about three Months. The Reason of their not coming was occasioned by some Deputies of the Wyandotts who came to their Country from over the Lakes, with Ten Calomets of Peace, and several Belts of Wampum, from Ten different Tribes of Indians, to Renew their Ancient Friendship with the Six Nations, which they did, and says that the Six Nations delivered a large Belt to them, desiring all Nations to the Westward to Cultivate a lasting Friendship with their Brethren the English, and deliver up all the English Prisoners as soon as possible, as that was demanded of them, and without they did it, they were well satisfied, the English would not be pleased.

The 30th an Indian arrived here from the Salt Licks, and informed me, that the Twightwees (i.e. Miamis) Otta-

ways, and Putowatomey's sent the Delawares the Tomahawk, that they had sent them to strike the English with, the Beginning of the War with this Message.

COUSINS,

We have made use of the Hatchet you sent us, we now Return it to you, to make what use you please of it, for we are determined never to use it against our Brethren the English any more.

The 31st Just now Returned here after delivering the Belt of Invitation sent from Custologas Town, to the Beaver, and says that the Principal Men and Warriors of all the Towns they Past by said they would prepare themselves to come to the Conference, That Teadeyuscung had called a Meeting at the Salt Lick Town, that they were going there, but that they would do nothing until they met here.

GEO: CROGHAN

Deputy Agent.

ARTHUR DOBBS TO GEN^l AMHERST.

BRUNSWICK 2^d August 1760.

SIR,

Your favors of the 27 and 28th of April did not come to my hands untill yesterday, along with a letter from Brig^r Monckton of the 23^d May. This delay of his Majesty's and your dispatches, in the Northern post office, of which I complained before, ought to be rectified, and I think ought to be forwarded by Express from the several offices, and let them charge the expense at home to the General Post Office, otherwise all necessary intelligence is at an end, as no advices can be sent in time, since you are at such a distance. I have wrote largely to Brig^r Monckton the situation we are in to the Southward, and to require a supply upon the apprehensions of a general southern Indian war

which if so Georgia must be lost, and South Carolina be in danger. As I hope before the date of this, you will be in possession of Montreal and all Canada, I hope you will be able to spare troops not only to end our Indian War, but also to attack Mobile and Mississipi, if your instructions will support you in it, as it will be necessary to drive the French from this Continent, to have future peace with them.

God grant you equal success to that which you have had already, and that you may be the Scipio of America; for Delenda est Carthago — at least on this Continent.

I refer you to General Monckton's letter, and am with great respect

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient
and most humble Servant

ARTHUR DOBBS.

General AMHERST.

GEN^L AMHERST TO MONCKTON

CAMP AT OSWEGO 2^d August

SIR,

Major Gladwin with the late garrison of Niagara, arrived here on the 31st and by him I was favored with your letter of the 9th. At the same time I received one from Major Walters, acquainting me that he should report to you his passage to and arrival at Niagara, so that I will not trouble you with a repetition of it. Enclosed in the Major's came a copy of one wrote him by Col Bouquet, demanding a number of engineers, stores, and tools, which he cannot be all supplied with; however Col Eyre ordered the engineer to send him all that could be spared from that post; the rest I am apt to think may be well done without as L^t Colonel Eyre assures me it may.

Colonel Bouquet likewise makes a demand of flower, pork, and ammunition. There is pork in abundance at Niagara, but not flower in proportion; and as I find that thro' the lowness of the River it would be difficult to get up any thing from Pittsburgh to Presqu'isle, I propose to victuall the garrison of the latter from Niagara, and for that purpose, I should immediately have sent one of our snows thither with a supply of flower, but as there is already a sufficiency, and that I am afraid she would not be back by the time of my departure for the river St Lawrence, and that I cannot well proceed without them both; I have therefore wrote, some days since, to Major Walters, to send me the sloop that is building there, so soon as she is finished and immediately after her arrival, she shall be kept plying between this and that post, with every thing that may be necessary, either for Niagara or Presqu'isle: meanwhile I have directed the Major to keep his horses and carriages constantly going with provisions between his post and the landing place at Lake Erie, where there is a guard of a serjeant and twelve men, that is always to be kept up for taking care of said provisions, and delivering it to the Batteaus which Colonel Bouquet shall send for them; of which I have desired the Major to give him notice. With regard to the ammunition he requires I cannot see any occasion for it, the rounds his detachment are doubtless supplied with, being certainly sufficient against any thing he has to fear, and Major Walters will send him spare cartridges or ammunition to make them, for as to any for presents to the Indians, I do not mean to give them at Presqu'isle, either provisions or ammunition. Pittsburgh or Niagara should be the only places to supply them from. If we supply Indians from every post we have, there is no end to it.

I approve much of your orders about the Block house. There were several gim cracks in the plan I gave you which I thought more ornamental than useful, and might

therefore be well dispensed with ; a good large one capable of containing one hundred and fifty men will answer every purpose it can be wanted for, either in summer or winter. Thirty or forty men will defend a Block house of that kind occasionally.

As I find that you can answer supplying your garrison far cheaper your way than by the way of Niagara (which I am extremely glad to hear) I shall drop all thoughts of supplying from thence, which was only intended by way of saving.

Your orders to Major Walters are very proper ; to these he has received from L^t Col. Eyre all the instructions he had had for the defence of that post, and every other order relative to that Command, together with every observation that Col. Eyre has had occasion to make during his stay there ; so that the Major cannot want for intelligence.

The post above the Falls you mention, has been made there some time since, and a Sergeant and twelve men occupy it. It is guard enough, and answers for the protection of the provisions.

I am glad to hear your Indians are in so good a humour. Ours here are likewise very quiet, and I cannot say but they are much more so than I expected. They are upwards of 1300 ; it is true that there are more than 600 women and children among them, but these are for the most part going home ; the sooner the better, for tho' they are all of them satisfied with the soldier's ration (for I allow them no more) the consumption of such a number of useless mouths is considerable, and I must recommend it to you, to allow yours no more than I do those here ; as likewise to be watchful whom of them you make presents to, observing to distinguish as nearly as you can between friends and foes, of which you will see the greater necessity from the following little account which I cannot refrain from reciting to you upon this occasion viz.

“ A German here, who was in the Pennsylvania troops,

and has now made his escape from the Indians, says he was taken at Fort Ligonier about a twelvemonth since by 17 Indians of the Miamis & Poux Indians and two Frenchmen in company with them. The Indians had been in Fort Ligonier as our friends, got provisions and necessaries; and on leaving the place took this man at a small distance from the Fort, wounded him very much, killed and scalped another who was with him; then marched him thro' the woods; and when they arrived near Pittsburgh, they left him tied with two men to guard him, and to take care of the scalp of his comrade. The Indians then went into Pittsburgh, got shirts, cloaths and provisions; then came away, and at a distance from the Fort, saw a man of Montgomery's, which they likewise brought off; that after eight days march, the man of Montgomery's made his escape, the Indians pursuing him for two days, but not overtaking him; he the German was taken over Lake Erie to St Joseph from whence he made his escape."

I propose to set out from hence by the tenth at farthest; the New Jersey troops and Murray's Reg^t being the only ones now that are to join me, and I expect them immediately; and I flatter myself I shall soon be able to send you some accounts of our success in our way to Montreal.

I enclose you a duplicate of my letter of the 24th ultimo, which went by the way of Philadelphia.

I am, with great truth and regard

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant

JEFF. AMHERST

P.S. as you recommended M^r Wood, who appears to be a good recruit, I have given him a commission in your Reg^t in the room of his namesake who was killed—

J. A.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

PRESQU' ISLE 6th August 1760.

SIR,

Lieut. Weedon of the Virg^a: Detachment with his Party returned from Niagara the 4th in the evening followed by Lieut Jenkins and 30 R. A. with three Battoes, carrying twenty Barrells Pork, and a few Tools. They have been seven days from Niagara.

Major Walters writes me that he has no flour or ammunition to spare, and only four Battoes, and as we have only two Saws, and neither Tar, Pitch or Oakum, Canvas for sails &c. we cannot build many here.

It seems difficult to lodge one years Provisions at this Post, unless Cattle and Salt could be sent from Pittsburgh, and flour when the Rivers are navigable.

The Navigation of this Lake appears very precarious, the storms rising very suddenly, and few landing Places on the Coast.

The Plans received from Niagara shall be transmitted to you by the first safe opportunity.

We have heard nothing yet from Capt. Atlee.

Five men deserted last night of the Pensilvania, if they could be arrested, it would put a stop to the desertion.

The Indians coming back from Niagara begin to call here for Provisions, being about starved, the Deer having now left the Lake, a Trader could buy here some Beaver for Powder, Tobacco &c. Serjeant Coope of the R. A. taken Prisoner two years ago, and who made his Escape from Detroit in May last tells me that the French had there

45 Regulars.

655 Canadians debris of their defeat at Niagara.

150 do come this spring from the Mississippi wth 24 Canoes of Provisions.

600 Inhabitants.

In all 1450 men able to carry arms.

150 Wyandots

200 Ottaways

100 Puttowatamies

100 Chibois

} living at or near the Fort.

They have only four Iron Guns, two Pounders and two swivels.

M^r Belitre Commandant, and very few officers.

The Timber for this Post is most all ready, but we cannot haul it in, our Horses being weak for want of food, and the Gears of Hides break continually being spoiled by the Rains.

I am ashamed that we must be so long in building this trifle. But I cannot do more

I am

Sir

Your most obedient and

most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

P.S. As soon as Lieut. Baily is able to join his Company at Niagara, I beg you would permit him to relieve Lieut Jenkins who went for him.

General MONCKTON.

MERCER TO MONCKTON

PRESQUE ISLE 11th Aug. 1760.

SIR,

I had the Pleasure to receive your Letter of the 30th July yesterday by an Indian sent express from Capt McKenzie at Venango.

I hope the Battoes have got up there, and that it may yet be practicable to bring loaded horses thro' the Cedar swamp near Le Beuff.

It is extremely lucky that the Navigation of the Lake secures us supplies from Niagara, this will probably continue for two months, so that when the Detachment now on the March joins us, we can carry on the works here with ease and spare a Party to lay in a Winter stock of Provisions from thence.

Col. Bouquet has ordered a Deck's Boat to be built there, which will render our intercourse with Niagara more easy, safe and expeditious.

Since the 22d of last month some of the Enemy have appeared near us, we expect another Visit soon of the same kind.

Were our horses sufficient to haul in the Timber, the greatest part of which is now prepared, our works would be in a small compass & prevent any danger of losing men by scalping parties.

Our People continue healthy, every one is fully employed, and the utmost Diligence used to answer the Purpose of our being here.

I have the Honour to be
Sir,

Your most obedient humble serv^t

HUGH MERCER.

General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

PRESQU' ISLE 11th August 1760.

SIR,

An Indian sent Express from Venango by Cap^t McKenzie brought me last night your Letter of the 28th ult^o Major Stewart was not arrived the 8th at that Post. The last

heavy Rains will have raised the Waters & facilitate his Passage, but at the same time will render the Swamps on your side Le Boeuf very deep for loaded Horses.

The evident necessity of reducing our allowance gave me some uneasiness, the men having been complaining every day that even the full Ration did not feed them at this Place where the air of the Lake & hard Labour gives them a devouring stomach. I was soon relieved by a Niagara Whaleboat with the General's Dispatches for you, and a letter from Major Walters informing me that he had orders to supply us with Pork and flour, our Parties fetching it at the Landing Place in the River.

I sent this morning your Letters by that Whaleboat with one of ours, and one Batteau, and required the Major to send us for this time only a detachment of his Garrison, with Batteaux loaded with Provisions, some Ammunition & Pitch and Oakum to finish the Batteaux we have upon the stocks. Our Demands from Niagara shall be confined to the most indispensable things.

The men being obliged to unload the Provisions every night to haul the Batteaux upon shore, each requires at least ten men, which is more than can be spared from our Works for that service. I have sent Horsey our Masters shipwright to Niagara to see himself if we can get there the necessary Materials to build at Jonquiere's Landing Place such a decked Vessell as you mention, which he is of opinion would do very well upon this Lake, and carry about fifteen Tuns or 150 Barrells being 33 feet long. And as said Horsey has navigated himself a sloop, and is Intelligent, he has orders to reconnoitre what Harbour upon this coast would be sufficient for this Vessell. Ours in the Peninsula is one of the best in the World, landlocked, and sufficient depth of water for any Vessell.

Major Gladwyn sent me a draught of the Coast but no Remarks, or even a Line with it. As it is upon a large

scale I cannot send it by this man, nor the sketch of Niagara.

I have also desired Major Walters to write to Oswego for such articles as will be necessary for our Vessel, and are not at his place, and to supply Horsey with Sawiers and Workmen, till we can send some from hence.

We have hauled in about one half of our heavy Timber, and with a little time hope to get the rest. I have not observed in the two last Campaigns the men so unwilling to work, but one way or other they must do it.

The best situation for the small Post you intend at Le Bouef is the spot where the Fort stood, and I think no time should be lost to go about it, as the Frost will set in early here, and Chimneys would be difficult to raise. Some reinforcement of Artificers and men must be sent up for that Work, as by the Computation of our Master Carpenter this Post cannot be completed with our Hands, before the beginning of October.

The Virginians will be exchanged with the Escorts from Venango where they are to stay.

The Regulations for the Pay of military artificers & common Labourers has taken Place immediately. Exact accounts will be kept, and the Returns signed by the Commanding officers and the Engineer.

Major Gladwyn had made us a little garden, but not an individual thing has grown in it, the seed being spoiled. If some could be sent up besides Turnips, they might yet be of service for the Winter.

The large Flatt to transport the Cattle to and from the Peninsula is ready for corking. A small sailing Boat to reconnoitre, and a Batteau for Provisions will soon be built. Two of our Whale Boats are unfit for service for want of Pitch, which they say they have not at Niagara.

By good Management we have got about Six Weeks Bread, and seven Weeks Meat at full allowance and with what we expect from Venango, and in a fortnight from

Niagara, we will have time to wait for the decked Thing, which would at once put an End to our Wants. But as accidents and dis-appointments may happen, I presume you will continue your supply till we have a sufficient store.

We have not one of our Indians here, and only a very large family of the Lake Indians, whose Language M^r M^cKee does not understand. I wish M^r Croghan could send him an Indian to assist him for an Interpreter, that we might Harangue that way.

The logs of the Causeway to Le Bouef are troublesome for Horses, but better than the swamps under them. It would be a Work above our strength to Smooth it. We will do what we can to it. The Horses we sent for Nails went and came very well.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient

and most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

P.S. Our scouts have just discovered a new Road to Le Bouef cut by the French, much better than the others, it is on the right hand in coming here.

R. PETERS TO MONCKTON

PHILADELPHIA 14 Augt. 1760.

SIR,

Your favour of the 31st July found me returned from a Journey I was obliged to take, on account of M^r Weisers sudden death, to Reading. This is my Apology for not writing last week. Our old Friends & Acquaintances drop

off very fast in this Country. Governor Delancey's Death is a most sad stroke. Neither his Country nor his Friends can expect this Loss will ever be replaced.

General Amherst was to embark as yesterday from Oswego with a complete Collection of all sorts of stores necessary for this important Expedition. S^r W^m Johnson has seven hundred choice Warriors no more being thought of use. Our News from Quebec by a vessel just arrived here you will find very agreeable. One thousand brave Tars accompanied General Murray on Rafts made immensely strong & large for the carriage of the Cannon, & it is said they are very commodious & easily managed.

General Haviland has at last got together a good Army & will I hope give a good account of the Isle aux Noix, S^t Johns & all other fortified places on the Lake & River Champlain. Much is said in praise of the Road lately cut between No 4 & Crown Point. It makes it but one step from New England into the very heart of the French settlements. I am told that the People of Connecticut are attempting to get footing in the Indian Country above & West of Cashietan in Latitude 41, 40 minutes & from thence to Lat. 41, under a Pretence that their Royal Grant gives them to the South towns. This if true may do infinite mischief at this time. Our Harvest is great & for the most part well got in tho' a more rainy, vile, and uncomfortable season I never yet experienced.

Not an article from Europe. No Packet—no private Vessel from any part of England to any part of the Continent that we hear of.

Your kind mention of my Correspondence does me honors and I am exceedingly obliged to you for your full Accounts w^{ch} afford to us all vast Pleasure. M^r Allen & M^r Chew share with me in the joy your Letters give. I have not yet conferred with the Governor on the subject of your Letter, but shall to day. Some Nanticoke Indians are come a begging & I never expect to be clear of such

troublesome Guests, till a final settlement of Peace. I will take means to know the true number of Men & Indians that were at Fort Augusta at all times during the last Campaign. The Number of Rations astonishes me, it does not appear that at any one time there could be so many men & Indians as to require Rations. The Returns to my Letters on this subject shall be communicated to you. I have a prudent, sensible & honest friend in that Garrison who will hide nothing from me.

Would not a Vessel make a fine Appearance on Lake Erie after you have had your talk with the Indians? Perhaps they might be brought to ask for such a thing if Croghan would exercise his Eloquence on the usefulness of an open Commerce & Navigation.

Many Points may be insinuated into the minds of the Indians & they made to mention them first. Our King Teedyuscun, will I suppose come down with the Western Chiefs to the great Convention which I hear you are likely to have of all sorts of Indians.

Nothing more yⁿ the confused Accounts in the Papers is sent us from Carolina. Colonel Byrd is marched to Fort Loudon & I hope he will escape the dangers of such a March & relieve that miserable Garrison.

I am

Your Excellencys

most obedient

& most obliged

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

If the Indians will ask for a store house at Presque Isle every thing under this Cover may be settled wth them.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON

PRESQU' ISLE 15th August 1760.

SIR,

Yesterday evening Major Smallman and a Party of 25 men of the Pensilv^a Troops arrived here from Venango, escorting —

16 Pack Horses loaded with flour
4 do. with Tools &c. for M^r Bassett
6 do. wth officers Baggage.

In all 26 Horses

15 Bullocks (very lean)
15 Sheep and some garden seeds.

The same Number of Virginians escorts the Horses back with 98 Empty flour Bags to Venango.

Lieut. Col. Worth representing that he has affairs of Consequence to him at Pittsburgh, I have permitted him to go there, foreseeing no immediate service for him here.

I send you the sketch of Lake Erie, & M^r Bassett directs to Cap^t Gordon his drafts of Niagara and Crown Point.

I inclose a Letter from M^r Hoops concerning the Ration you may remember I informed you that in the beginning of the last Campaign, the Ration had been fixed for this department by General Stanwix with M^r Kelby before Sir John S^t Clair (I believe) Colonel Robertson and myself at nine Pounds flour, and Eight Pounds Beef or five Pounds Pork per Week. The addition of two Pounds flour, and one Pound Beef or Pork, being given by the Contractors as an Equivalent for small species. If you have made any alteration since, I shall conform myself to it here, as soon as I have your orders.

The above Detachment hath also brought Prisoners here, the three Deserters of the Light Infantry whom I will send by the first opportunity to their Corps.

Our Works are at a stand by the Rains, and the Camp
a Swamp, all our Bricks are lost.

I am very respectfully

Sir,

Your most obedient and

most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

P.S. Several Mingo Indians are come in under Pretence
of clearing themselves of having had any share in the
scalping Party of the 22^d last, but to get Provisions.

H. B.

PETERS TO MONCKTON

PHILADELPHIA 21st Augt. 1760.

SIR,

The long expected Packet put into Boston on account of
bad weather but does not bring the least scrap of News as
M^r Watts writes. The King of Prussia is entrenched up
to the Eyes. Prince Ferdinand is meditating an attack &
additional squadrons of horse & Regiments of Foot are
embarking from England for Germany. No late News
from Carolina.

M^r Watts writes that the Grenadiers and Light Infantry
of General Amhersts Army moved from Oswego the 7th
Instant the whole under the Command of Col. Haldiman
—the Grenadiers by Col. Massey and Light Infantry by
Col. Amherst to which Corps Jemmy Delancey acts as
Major. The 10th the General followed with the last
Division. The 11th Col. Haviland marched from Crown
Point so that every hour we may expect something de-
cisive.

Your kind favours of the 7th Instant were delivered on the 15th in y^e Morning, the Posts I think of late are pretty punctual.

I have spoken to the Governor about the shocking Account of the Provisions charged in Forts Augusta & Allen. M^r Hoops promises to draw up a set of Queries for y^e Governor & then you shall have an exact Account of this Imposition.

Two or three persons pretty well acquainted with that Business have been already examined.

It looks as if the great Treaty to which Teedyuscung was invited by the Ohio Indians will be held at Fort Pitt under your Auspices. This takes off all my uneasiness as I am sure every material Point will be settled.

The Heat here has been very extreme & being attended with heavy & almost constant Rains has produced a damp dispiriting Air & the Town is become sickly.

Governor DeLancey dyed without a Will & as M^r Watts writes left a large real Estate w^{ch} all goes to Jemmy & a very small personal Estate which is unfortunate as to y^e younger Children.

M^r Cunningham late Quarter Master Gen^l at Guadaloupe with the Rank of Lieutenant Colonel came in the Packet & is gone to joyn his Company as Captain to Quebec. Lord George's Fall has put some matters respecting him in a different Light.

By our Accounts all the late Acts passed by Gov^r Denny have been pretty handsomely roasted by the Attorney & Solicitor General who represented them as injurious to the Crown & y^e People, set aside the Proprietaries and declared they were the Effects of prostitution & infamous Bribery & Corruption, & it is thought they will all be set aside especially the Tax Act for £100,000 & that for y^e Loan of the £50,000. No Report was made by the Lords of Trade

but expected every day. Not a Quaker appeared at the Hearings.

I am

Dr Sir

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

& most humble

servant

• RICHARD PETERS.

I hope your Letters from England will give you some particular Accounts.

SAME TO SAME

PHILADELPHIA, 29th Augt. 1760.

SIR,

Your favour of the 25th was delivered on Friday night the seventh day after its date. It is very fortunate that the Indians chuse to hold their Treaty at Pittsburgh, for were they to have come down here we should not have had their real sentiments but the Echo of some stories told them underhand by Israel Pemberton. I suppose it must have been he who put it into y^e head of Langdale to ask for a seat for himself & his Clerk. The Gov^r when I read M^r Youngs Letter to him on this humourous story was outraged & sent me instantly to y^e Indian Commissioners for a Copy of their Instructions to their Clerk or Storekeeper. They denied that he had any such Instructions from them, all they desired of him was to be present at all publick Treaties & to be assistant if asked in any matter relating to Trade. The Gov^r gives his humble service to you & desires me to assure you that he thinks this behaviour in Langdale quite impertinent & that he has given no In-

structions to him at all & when he receives y^e Copy of the Indian Commissioners Instructions to him, if necessary, he will send it to you. M^r Langdale was treated as he desired & so was King Teedyuscung, who being in the entire Management of Israel Pemberton was at Easton every now & then 'excessively impertinent, saying in the Indian Language just what we might expect from that turbulent Creature, M^r Pemberton. Among other things he insisted on a Secretary & they gave him the Clerk of y^e Quaker School for one & crammed him down the Governors throat. If the Generals message be well taken & properly answered all will be accomplished that is in any wise material. Mr Croghan understands the Disposition of Indians very well & knows how to time things now he is not disturbed by Quakers.

It is rumoured of New York that a Cessation of Arms is carried to Quebec by a Man of War sent Express y^t arrived at Louisburg in 20 days from Portsmouth. I cannot learn any foundation for this report more than a Paragraph in the News Papers by a Bristol Vessel who left that Port y^e 3^d of July as if Russia, England & France had made a separate Treaty.

By my Letters in Bristol I have an Account that the Hearings concerning the late Governor Dennys Acts were long & strenuously debated on both sides & that the Lords of Trade have reported against the hundred thousand Pound Act & the Enciting Act tho' by the one all the supplies for one year were granted to His Majesties Use, and there was a Tack to the other lending to y^e Agents of the Contractors £50,000 for a year. All the other Acts have undergone a severe scrutiny & will share the same fate. This throws our Politicians into some Confusion, but Ignorance & Impudence will break thro' this & every thing else. I do not find that they are at all blamed here, it is the Lords of Trade who know nothing of these matters & are imposed upon.

All our Armies are in their proper Destination in Canada & every moment we may expect to hear what Effect their Approaches will have on Vaudzeine. It is said he will chuse to submit to General Amherst rather than to Murray. I wish he may submit to either as it will prevent the Effusion of Blood.

We have had a french Privateer off the Capes of Virginia who sailed from Cape Francois with a Consort & as they separated at ten I imagine this Consort must be off Carolina & perhaps has taken the Vessels bound to y^e Continent with Advices, for I hear of nothing from that Quarter but what is in Halls Paper of the 9th of August.

[The rest of the letter is gone. It is in the handwriting of Richard Peters.]

AMHERST TO MONCKTON

RIVER S^t LAWRENCE BELOW THE ISLE ROYALE
26th August 1760

SIR,

On the 10th instant, I embarked the Army, and proceeded with the same across Lake Ontario, into this River, where on the 16th in the evening off Oswegatchie, the advanced guard descried one of the enemy's vessells; but it being soon after duskish, nothing could be effected that night, tho' we tried as much as possible to attack her. At daybreak on the 17th our row galleys engaged her, and by seven in the morning she struck: Her name was the Ottawawa, mounting ten twelve pounders and one hundred men, officers included, besides Mon^r de la Broqueri who commanded her. In the engagement we had only one man killed and another wounded, and the enemy thirteen of both.

The Army which the preceding night had encamped

on the *pointe du baril* then moved down to Oswegatchie, a very good Indian settlement with a block house fort but abandoned; the enemy being posted on an island, between four and five miles further down the River, where they were reported to be very strongly fortified. Both shores were reconnoitred during the night and early the next morning, and the engineers having reported to me, the situation of the coasts and islands nearest the Fort, immediately on the return of the engineers, on the 18th a part of the Army passed down, on each coast and after some opposition by a smart cannonading, the Fort was completely invested, so that none of its garrison could make its escape. The four following days were employed in raising my Batteries, which being finished on the morning of the 23^d in concert with our shipping, I began to fire on the Fort, which lasted till yesterday afternoon, when the French beat a parley, desiring to know what terms should be granted them. My answer was that the garrison should be prisoners of war; that every thing in and depending on the Fort should be delivered in its present state; and that I gave them only ten minutes, to accept or dissent from these proposals. They accordingly yielded to these conditions; and I have the satisfaction to inform you, that His Majesty's troops are now, in possession of Fort Levis.

Our loss upon this occasion has been very inconsiderable; that of the enemy (whose garrison consisted of about three hundred men) about twelve killed and forty wounded. Mr Pouchot the same gentleman that was last year taken at Niagara commanded them

I am &c

JEFF AMHERST.

SAME TO SAME

CAMP AT FORT WILLIAM AUGUSTUS 31st August 1760

SIR,

Your favor of the 30th ultimo came to my hands late last night, and as I am just now going to embark with part of the Army in my way down the river, I have only time at present to coincide with you in opinion, that the Provinces ought by all means to contribute towards manning the several garrisons, that are kept up for the safety and protection of their country, by leaving for that purpose during the winter, a proportion of the troops they have received for the services of the campaign; and as all those within your department are by my letters acquainted with your having the chief command over that district, and desired to comply with every application you shall make to them for the good of the service, in the same manner, as if they were made by me. You will, when you see proper, be pleased to make every request of them, that you shall think can tend towards forwarding every thing within your department, or for the protection and defence of the country within the same; which requests, I have no doubt will be granted, as soon on your application as on my own.

I see by your letter that there has been, some scalping killing and carrying off people within your communication, if the other operations will permit it, I shall send you a corps of troops to proceed against the Detroit, and to punish the savages who, notwithstanding the good usage they meet with from us, are villains enough to commit such treacheries.

Enclosed is a copy of my circular letter to the Governors, whereby you will see the progress of the army since its departure from Oswego. I hope soon to send you still further good news.

A vessell on Lake Erie must doubtless be very usefull;

The French had one but she was lost. I think it will be very right to build one of the burden and dimensions you mention.

I am with great truth
Sir, your most obedient
Humble Servant

JEFF. AMHERST.

Hon^{ble} Brig^d General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MAJ. GATES

PRESQU' ISLE 2^d September 1760.

DEAR SIR,

Your Letter of the 20th was delivered me the 31st Aug^t by a Delaware Indian. Two more arrived yesterday with a Convoy of 35 Horses from Venango. They all three will go back, and I have heard nothing of those six Nations Indians you mention to hunt & scout here. I keep some Tawais for that service, tho' I can not much depend upon them.

The last storm and high Flood have carried away the Block House we had on the neck of the Peninsula, which was a very advantageous Post.

Please to inform the General that the 25th ult^o the four Battos returned from Niagara with Twelve Barrels flour (all that could be spared at that time) & some Pork.

As to naval stores we have been entirely disappointed, Major Walters writing that they have nothing at all at Niagara.

Horsey is therefore returned having found a more convenient Place for building Vessells at the Landing near *Jonquieres*, with abundance of the best Timber.

In the expectation that the Niagara sloop might bring back perhaps some stores from Oswego, I have sent Copys of the two Inclosed Lists to Major Walters, that we might

at least be able to fit out the Flatt built here, which being a long and stout sea Boat could easily be rigged so as to go to Niagara & would carry hundred Barrels.

They have no more Batteaux to spare and our Whale Boats being very slightly built are already broken to Pieces, for want of necessaries to repair them in Time.

Our sailing boat is ready, and I keep her here to take the General's Letters, having dispatched this morning the four Batteaux back with 40 of our Men, and also relieved by Virginians the Pensilvania Escort from Venango.

The Creeks along the Coast are only fit to receive Batteaux but there are many deep Bays where a sloop might be secured with good Cables and Anchors.

I am afraid it will now be too late, tho' it might serve for next year. But you could send to Venango & afterward by Beef River some Canoes and Rigging as I see little dependency from Niagara.

Having had 24 days of Rain, we have only raised the first story of the Block house. The Horses have almost given out, and the Timber is brought in with great difficulty, all the soil round ~~us~~ being now a marsh. I hope tho' to see it finished in the beginning of October.

We have had three more deserters from the Pensilv^a two were brought in yesterday from Pittsburgh, but without any directions from the General. The three of the light Infantry who delivered themselves up to the Indians have been forwarded to Niagara.

My Respects to the General.

I am

Dear Sir

Your most obedient

Hble Servant

H. BOUQUET.

Major GATES.

SAME TO MONCKTON

PRESQU' ISLE 3^d September, 1760.

SIR,

As the Pack Horses were going back yesterday the advanced Party of the Escort was fired upon from an ambuscade of French and Indians, one was killed and the Enemy falling upon them took three Virginians Prisoners, but as they were tying them Capt M^cNeil who was in the Rear of all came up, and firing upon the Enemy made them abandon the three Prisoners & run in the Thicket, leaving some of their Blankets, Tomahawks &c., behind them. This was about two miles from the Camp; at the first Notice I sent a Reinforcement to Cap^t M^cNeil, but the Enemy did not appear again.

The Bearer, one of the Delaware Indians came at that time to us and said that hunting his Horse he had been taken by two Taways and a frenchman, who threatened to scalp him if he did offer to leave them, and give us any Intelligence till they had done their business. The Taways (i.e. Ottaways) told him that there was a large Party of French coming from Detroit to take this Post. During the Skirmish he made his Escape.

Captain M^cNeil being come back with the Pack Horses we found besides the man killed, two more missing *Moxon* servant to Mr Lawson, with all his masters Baggage and another Virginia Soldier *Burton*, who in the attack run both in the Woods, and have not been heard of since, tho' I sent Parties to look for them.

I engaged five Western Indians to follow the Enemy, and if possible bring a Prisoner, they have had three of their own Horses taken, which made them eager to overtake the Party, and they can speak to them without danger.

Some men coming in the afternoon from the Peninsula were also fired upon by another Party, but escaped, and this morning having sent Cap^t Clapham in a boat to reconnoitre along the shore, he reports that he has seen some Canoes & men in the Peninsula. The Grass guard being in a Redout is in no danger from a small Party.

By the several Reports of the Indians & our People it seems that the Enemy had more men than what we saw. I can not know the truth till the Indians return, as by the Detachment to Niagara & the Peninsula, I am too weak to venture a Party out (except some Hunters) the Woods being so full of Brushes and fallen Trees as to be nearly impracticable, and much better known to the Enemies than to us.

I shall reinforce the Escort of the Pack Horses as far as Le Boeuf, and inform you of what happens hereafter.

If Pensilvania Troops were to be left here, they will want proper Bullets for their Fusees, which our Cartridges don't fit.

I wish we could have some trusty Indians to scout hereabout, as I can have no dependance upon the raw and undisciplined People I have here.

I am with great Respect

Sir,

Your most obedient

& most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

PETERS TO MONCKTON.

PHILADELPHIA 4 Sept^r 1760.

SIR,

Yours of the 21st Aug^t came here the 29th. Your Indian Treaty has ended well and I congratulate you thereon.

The ready manner in which all the Tribes of Western Indians have acknowledged that the Ohio Lands belong to the Six Nations will cut off abundance of trouble and dispute which was expected would arise from their affecting to aim of an Independency & the Ownership of Lands. This I have heard has been given out in Speeches by very principal Indians, but such an open & unsought Acknowledgment of the Right of the Six Nations puts an End to all fears of this sort.

Is there no way of bringing Mr Langdale to a sense of himself? The Gov^r is vastly displeased at such Conduct & his Constituents by their Instructions have not given him the least Countenance. Pity but he should smart a little.

Monsieur Belletré, who I suppose commands at Detroit, was very unpolitick in his measures & will I hope be made to repent it. If the Party do not cool before they get to Detroit, they may do abundance of mischief as it may well be thought that many have retreated there imagining they would be safer, & have carried their fears and wretchedness along with them.

King Teedyuscung has shewed himself to be what he always was — but the people who put his Mask on at first had craft enough to hold it on when they were present. Now y^t he had not his advisers with him nature lost place & he was seen to be a senseless, low, drunken wretch.

It gives me pleasure to find the Communication shorten so much as to admit of your having a Letter in 14 days from Oswego.

A small touch of a sore throat obliges me to keep in my Chamber so that I know not what the Gov^r will do as to the recruiting of the Provincials for the Winter. The Assembly sits on Monday & will I am afraid be in an ill humour at their having their Acts of Assembly reported against.

No news of General Amherst since he left Oswego.

Murray carries Terror wherever he goes & has been a long time waiting with the utmost Impatience for Haviland who is fairly landed over against Isle aux Noix & must fight his way thro' a Command of 1500 under Monsier Boucenville who is strongly entrenched.

Col. Montgomery has left four Companies at Carolina & is returned to New York with the rest. He says all is quiet there, but the Fact is that the Indians must now the Corn is high watch it till it be ripe & they can get it in, for on this their all depends. I have no private Letters about the State of affairs in Carolina.

Mr Allen presents the Return of his most hearty well wishes for you and all the Gentlemen of his Acquaintance with you.

I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

GOVERNOR HAMILTON TO GEN^L MONCKTON.

PHILADELPHIA Septem^r 4^o 1760.

SIR,

I received, last night, the favour of your Excellency's letter of the 21^o of August, containing a requisition for the reinlistment of four hundred of the Pennsylvania Troops with officers in proportion, to serve as Winter-Garrisons for the several posts you have taken to the Westward; and also for those of the Forts Augusta and Allen.—And considering the Extensiveness of the service, the uncertainty to which all operations of War are liable, and particularly, what may be the issue of General Amherst's Campaign in

Canada, I cannot think your demand either unseasonable in point of time, or unreasonable in itself.—

I shall therefore, upon the Meeting of our Assembly, which will be in a few days, take the earliest opportunity of laying the propos'd measure before them, and of enforcing the necessity of a Compliance with it, by the best reasons that occur to me upon the occasion.

I cannot, however, omit expressing my fears, that they will not readily come into this measure; as the same cannot be done without passing a new Supply-Bill. For, notwithstanding very little more than one half of the number of men voted for the service of this campaign have been raised; yet, by the great anticipations of former years, the Commiss^{rs} tell me, that when the Troops, now on foot, shall be paid to the 25^o of November, and the necessary charges of Indian Treaties &c. defray'd, very little of the £100,000 granted by the last Bill, will be left.

You will please to be assured, Sir, that nothing, in my power, shall be wanting to promote the interest of the Service upon this or any other occasion; and that I shall do my self the honour of acquainting you from time to time with all our proceedings relating thereunto. being with the greatest respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient
& most humble Servant

JAMES HAMILTON.

General MONCKTON.

GEN^L AMHERSTS CIRCULAR TO THE GOV^{RS} ON THE CONTINENT FROM CAPE BRETON TO GEORGIA INCLUSIVE.

CAMP OF MONTREAL 9th September 1760

SIR,

In mine of the 26th ultimo, I acquainted you with the progress of the Army after their departure from Oswego;

and with the success of his Majesty's arms against Fort Levis, now Fort William Augustus. Where I remained no longer than was requisite to make such preparations as I judged essentially necessary, for the passage of the Army down the river, which took me up till the 30th.

In the morning of the following day, I sat out, and proceeded from station to station, to our present ground where we arrived on the 6th in the evening after having in the passage sustained a loss of eight men drowned; twenty nine batteaus of Regiments, seventeen of artillery, with some artillery and stores, seventeen whale boats, and one row galley staved; occasioned by the violence of the currents and the rapids, being full of broken waves.

The inhabitants of the settlements I passed thro' in my way hither, having abandoned their houses, and run into the woods, I sent after them; some were taken, and others came in of their own accord; I had them disarmed and caused the oath of allegiance to be tendered to them, which they readily took, and I accordingly put them in quiet possession of their habitations, with which treatment they seemed no less surprised than happy.

The troops being formed, and the light artillery brought up, the Army lay on their arms the night of the 6th.

On the 7th in the morning two officers came to an advanced post with a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil referring me to what one of them Colonel Bougainville had to say. The conversation ended with a cessation of arms till twelve o'clock, when the proposals were brought in; soon after I returned them with the terms I was willing to grant; which both the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Mons^r de Levis the French General, were very strenuous to have softened; this occasioned sundry letters to pass between us, during the day as well as the night (when the Army again lay on their arms) but as I would not on any account deviate in the least from my original conditions, and insisted on an immediate and categorical answer, Mons^r de Vau-

dreuil soon after day break, notified me that he had determined to accept of them, and two setts of them were accordingly signed by him and me, and exchanged yesterday, when Col^l Haldimand with the Grenadiers, and light infantry of the Army took possession of one of the Gates of the town, and is this day to proceed in fulfilling the articles of the capitulation; by which the French Troops are all to lay down their arms; are not to serve during the continuance of the present war; and are to be sent back to Old France, as are also the Governors and principal officers of the Legislature of the whole country, which I have now the satisfaction to inform you, is entirely yielded to the dominion of his Majesty, on which interesting and happy event I most sincerely congratulate you.

Governor Murray with the troops from Quebec landed below the town on Sunday last, and Colonel Haviland with his Corps (that took possession of the Isle aux Noix, abandoned by the enemy on the 28th), arrived yesterday at the South shore, opposite to my camp.

I am, with great regard
Sir, &c.

JEFFREY AMHERST

PETERS TO MONCKTON.

PHILADELPHIA 11 Sept^r 1760.

SIR,

I acknowledge the Receipt of yours of the 28th Aug^t on Saturday last.

The Party gone to Detroit will find a miserable Pack there if the Information be true which is given by one John Smith a grave & good Dutch man of the Neighbourhood of Lancaster who left it not long ago, and declares that there are not more than Two hundred soldiers if they may be called soldiers that Two Mohawk Indians told them

with great spirit that they would pay dearly for their two or three Prisoners and a few scalps, for there would soon be a force sent against them that would totally destroy them, y^t they thereupon imprisoned one of these Indians but the neighbouring Indians soon gave them to understand that Indians were not to be used in that manner & caused them instantly to release him. That those French who have Farms want to capitulate & y^e others have boats ready to put off for Michilimickinac.

No Indians are supported at Fort Augusta nor at Fort Allen. The Officer at this last place is a German one Wackerberg a poor creature who keeps no Authority and as M^r Post says gives Quantities of Provisions to a parcel of Indians y^t are perpetually passing to and fro for Rum, but M^r Franks tells me that they do not send up any Provisions for that purpose. It might be proper, if you please, Just to mention to y^e Gov^r that you have sent me Copies of the Certificates of the Rations given out last year & desire he will please to enquire into it, and if Adam Hoops will but send the Queries he promised, a Return would be made to you, with Truth, & in a formal manner. I have the Investigation of this thing much at heart.

Captain Delancey, by the advice and importunate persuasion of General Amherst, is come to New York to set matters right in that unfortunate family. Mrs Delancey had not made over her Estate. Perhaps the personal Estate will not exceed £12,000 and the real may be worth £80,000.

I give you a very sincere Congratulation on the success of General Amherst and Colonel Haviland. The Express from Crown Point says positively that Murray was below Montreal & was joined by the Reinforcement from Louisburgh.

We have no Letters from South Carolina in this town but some from New York say that the Indians have taken a pacifick Turn & will come upon Terms. Our friend

Col. Byrd will not have been able, it is thought, to have proceeded to Fort Loudon with any proper number of his men for want of necessarys both in the Provision and military store Articles.

The inclosed Message from y^e Governor to the Assembly lays your Requisition before them and having delivered it the very day that they made a Quorum, I waited on my friend M^r Allen, who most thankfully received your kind remembrance of him to know what the Assembly would do. He gave me very bad Encouragement as all the Members except himself said they would not meddle with it, but refer it to the new Assembly w^{ch} is to be chosen on the 1st and to meet on the 14th day of October. He says they are soured at the prospect of losing their Acts passed by Gov^r Denny, and if they should be repealed he thinks that they will not consent to your Requisition, tho' so necessary & so much to the advantage of this Province.

The Governor desires his service may be presented to you with his assurances that he will do all in his power to persuade the Assembly, but has no hopes of success. As soon as he receives a final answer, he will transmit it to you.

Two Vessels from England who left us on y^e 25th July are arrived & bring an Account of the Defeat of General Fouquet, who was surprized and overpowered by General Laudohn, & is since dead of his Wounds, that said Laudohn never lost any thing he has attempted, in his whole life, as it is said. The King of Prussia must quit his Entrenchments & risque a Battle, or all Silesia, as well as his own Dominions, with Saxony, will be overrun; and he must do it to greater disadvantage the longer he remains unactive. I find all hopes of a Peace are vanished & the French have large Armies & full Magazines.

I am Sir,

Your Excellencys

Most obed^t Servant

RICHARD PETERS.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

PRESQU'ISLE 15th September 1760.

SIR,

I am to acknowledge your Letters of the 23^d and 27th August. The last received yesterday by Capt. Montour, who arrived here with Chingas and two other Indians whom he picked up at Custologa's, and could get no body else to come with him, nor even an answer to his speech. Chingas and another are to go back to morrow being come only to view our Works.

Give me leave to observe on this and other similar Cases, that the *Managers* do not seem to represent you things as they are. I can not perceive that they have any Influence, and we had more real services from the Indians two years ago than we ever had since.

As an appearance of those People may be of use I keep here our few Chipwas tho' very expensive by their families, they will not stay long neither having hunted a fortnight without killing a Deer. The scarceness of game is probably the Reason that there are no other Indians settled on this side the Lake from Niagara to Detroit, except a few wandering families who have no fixed habitations.

I wrote you that I had sent them after the Enemy. They followed them for three days in their Canoe, and overtook a Party of about 20, going back by land, who as soon as they saw the Canoe, ran off, leaving their Meat on the fire, our Indians having no moccasins could not pursue them & returned.

Our Battoes are this moment returned from Niagara with 600 Barrells flour, much of it spoiled, having served for Breast Work last Winter at Oswego. The Sloop had orders to follow the army, she is expected soon back. In the mean time no stores whatever either for sloop or the Flatt.

The Boat that carried your last Letters is to return in five days. Weather permitting. I shall then send you what News she brings. I have none myself from Niagara, but it is said that Gen^l Amherst had taken the largest French Vessell of ten twelve pounders with his floating Batteries and with three large Land Batteries was playing upon the Works of L'Isle Royale, which must be reduced by this time.

The inclosed Piece of Intelligence from Detroit was sent me by Major Walters, with a Prisoner of the Virginians, who has made his Escape. He says that nine of our Prisoners having attempted to come here, had been overtaken by a Party of Tawas who had killed Eight and carried back one.

The Oakum we received lately from Venango is not sufficient to cork the Flatt, but as we have now no other Resource, we shall make shift to make her go to Niagara, even if we receive no assistance from that Post, by using soldiers Tents for Sails &c.

Should the sloop be built, it is now too Late to expect any service from her this year. Besides that the Flatt will be sufficient for the present. But as such a Vessell will be wanted hereafter, I think the Timber should be cut, prepared and seasoned at the Landing Place at Niagara, so as to get her finished early in the Spring. If you should approve of it, you will please to let me know, if I am to send all or Part of the Ship Carpenters there, and as no more men can be spared from here than will carry on the Batteau service. Major Walters ought in that Case to have your orders to give a Party from his garrison to cut & saw the Timber & assist the Ship Carpenter.

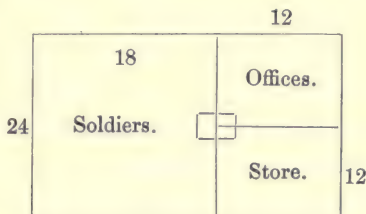
We received the four Horses a few days ago. I shall send them down as soon as we have done at Le Boeuf. They will be taken care of, but having no Corn & very bad Grass they will soon become skeletons like the rest.

The Deserters of the Pensilvanians have been severely

punished, one of them *Samuel M^cCullough* is deserted again in coming up betwixt Pittsburgh & Venango.

The Corporal & one Private of the R. A. have been sent to Niagara.

There will be no occasion to send up more Troops, as the Works will be finished here in the beginning of October, and I shall send a Party in a few days to begin at Le Boeuf, which will not take much time. The House is to be 32 feet by 24.



As I hope the whole will be done before I can receive an answer to this, I beg you would send me your order what I am to do? what number of men you will keep here and at Le Boeuf, &c.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient &
most Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

If Mr Basset is wanted any where else, he can now be spared here.

MERCER TO MONCKTON.

PRESQU'ISLE y^e 15th Sep^r 1760.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge your favour of the 23^d ulto. and am extremely glad the Indian Treaty is con-

cluded so much to your satisfaction, yet we find the Enemy will divide with us such Tribes as lye near them, and, their force admitting of no greater enterprize, spare no expence to send them a scalping. 'Twas unlucky that our Battoes had set off the Morning of the 2^d Inst when Cap^t M^cNeils Party were fired on near this Post, as with them we could easily have surprized the Enemy, and at least seized their Canoes. Our Indians discovered three, but pretend that the Enemy fled into the Woods at their landing. The Detachment of the 2^d Inst arrived from Niagara yesterday with a supply of Flour and brings the agreeable news of Gen^l Amherst being before Le Galette, in possession of the Enemies armed Vessels about the middle of Aug^t. As no express has come to Niagara from the Army, we imagine a more authentic account may have reached Pitts-burgh before now. To morrow a Party goes for Le Beuff to form the Post intended there.

The Weather has of late favoured our Works here extremely, so that we hope to see the Block house completed this month.

The Gentlemen of the Pensylv^a Regim^t with me, beg leave to present you their respectful Compliments.

I have the Honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant

HUGH MERCER.

General MONCKTON.

PETERS TO SAME.

PHILADELPHIA 18th Sept^r 1760.

SIR,

Agreeable to what I wrote, the Assembly have declined entering under your Requisition for the Re-enlistment of

Four hundred men. The Reason assigned in the inclosed Copy of their Answer to the Gov^{rs} Message is a droll one; viz. "that it would take up more time than could possibly be spared at this Juncture wⁿ the Assembly in a few days must be dissolved." Can such conduct be conceived possible that they should say this in so grave a Manner & two days after adjourn for 8 or 10 days, to meet again next Monday? But it is so, and the Governor finding them obstinate did not any further litigate y^e matter wth them.

I am obliged to you for your favours of the 4th & 6th & y^e Copy of the Indian treaty. If Deputies from the English are to be admitted into any General Indian Council where War or Peace is debated it would give a great security indeed, but this I suppose is not meant, however if the General Body of Indians will insist that no particular Nation shall go to war against y^e English, or with any other Indian Nation, without the Consent and Determination of the whole it would be a wise and proper measure, and these two Points Teedyuscung tells the Governor are actually agreed upon by all y^e Indians.

The Shawanese are the greatest Politicians among all the Indians, but they must come into your measures, and if one would put a bridle upon them by a small Garrison at the Lower Shawanese Town or a strong Indian trading house it might not be amiss.

You will see by the Papers that a Packet arrived on Thursday last w^{ch} left Falmouth 29th July, but brought no Letters later yⁿ what came by the London Ships.

The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick has had a Brush with the whole French Army & was beat wth some Loss and a slight wound in his shoulder.

The King of Prussia is in Silesia amidst numerous Armies of his Enemies who are cock sure of demolishing him & all his Army. But Heaven forbid.

The French have a well appointed Army under Marechal Duke of Broglio far superior to Prince Ferdinands in

Number, and it is thought our Army will be on the Defensive.

General Murray & Col. Haviland are on the Isle of Montreal wth 11,000 brave fellows.

General Amherst is to make his way thro' a Body of 10,000 French under Mons^r Levy, strongly entrenched at some place about 15 miles higher up the River y^t Montreal. Not the least News from him since y^e 26th nor is it wrote that there is any communication betwⁿ M^r Amherst & M^r Murray.

The Express brought them [Murray & Haviland] an account that 2000 Draughts to fill up their Regiments & were sailed for Quebec with an account that the French had rejected all Proposals.

It is thought that Mons^r Levy is very strong & that General Amherst will find it very difficult to force his way thro'. I think these two Antagonists are pretty near equal in strength.

Several Gentlemen & Merchants are come here on one Business or other from New York and all say that there is nothing from London but what is in the publick Prints.

The King of Spain hearkens to M^r Wall & is determin'd to stand neuter.

Another villianous attempt of the Dutch to appropriate all the English in the District of Bengal is happily discovered and punished in part as far as money can do it, but I hope it will not end so.

Colonel Clive has really in England one Million and half sterling, was graciously received by His Majesty & is gone to smoke a Pipe in the Country.

The Report of the Lords of Trade is come to hand and contains a most earnest Recommendation to the Privy Council to repeal all the Assemblys favourite Laws passed by Gov^r Denny wherein the Rights of the Crown are attacked, or any Injustice done to the Prop^{rs}. If the Laws are repealed the assembly will not have any longer the

disposition of the publick money, and this may for the present sour them so much that I think it is to be questioned if the next Assembly will grant the Request, and I mention this that you may take your measures, as if you was sure that this Requisition, tho' just, will be absolutely refused. I write with freedom on this subject, and it is right I should, having a Confidence that whatever I say is only to your selfe.

I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient servant

RICHARD PETERS.

BOUQUET TO GATES.

PRESQU'ISLE 22^d September 1760.

DEAR SIR,

Your Letter of the 9th was delivered me last night by Mr Hutchins who brought five Indians with him.

Every Method has been tryed to engage them to go upon the intended Errand, but with so little success that they would not even stay another day here, and are going back to morrow.

Having more Managers than Indians, I have permitted Mr Hutchins at his request to go to Venango. He promises to return in a Week, and to do his best to bring up some Custologa Indians to scout here.

It cannot be imagined that after giving us so much time, an attack could seriously be intended against this Post. I am only apprehensive that the Communication may continue to be infested, which we can not prevent, having no People fit to be employed in retaliation. The Indians tell me that the Party mentioned in the Generals Letter is not gone, nor likely to go.

After long waiting for a Convoy from Venango to send down the few naked Virginians remaining here, Major Stewart writes that he has nothing to send, and that the Horses he hath, will hardly be able to make one Trip.

The officer sent with the General's Letters to Niagara is returned to day. He was shipwrecked by a storm upon the Coast 20 Miles from hence. The Boat Staved, the People & Letters saved.

The sloop was not arrived the 15th & they had no news from the army. They are so ill provided, that they could not get us among their sutlers, Thread & Needles to make our sails.

The rainy Weather continues, and the navigation begins to be dangerous by the frequent squalls.

You will please to ask the General if he chooses to send Flags for the Forts & sloop, & some small ones for Batteaux and Partys.

I have sent a Party to Le Boeuf to cut and square Timber, and wrote for Shingle Nails at Venango.

I suppose the General was informed that Du Plessis has not been heard of, since he left the Mingo Cabins. How much I am concerned for his unhappy fate on such an occasion is more than I can express.

I am

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

Major GATES.

P.S. Mr Mc Kee tells me that this moment he has orders from Mr Croghan to go to Pittsburgh. I keep Montour till Hutchins return.

If Mr Croghan has Intelligence from Detroit, I wish he would direct them here, as they will always come too late by Fort Pitt.

HAMILTON TO SAME.

PHILAD* Sep: 18: 1760

SIR,

Since I had the honour of writing to you last, I have used my best Endeavours to prevail on the Assembly, to Enable me to comply with your requisition of reinlisting four hundred of our Provincials, for Winter Garrisons to the westward, and at the Forts Augusta and Allen. And I am sorry it is not in my power to give you a better account of the success of my application.

By their Answer to a Message I sent them expressly upon that subject, of both which, I have directed the Secretary to transmit you Copies, you will observe they decline coming to any resolution upon the proposed measure, at this time; and refer the consideration of it to the New Assembly which will meet here on the 14^o of the next month.

Were nothing more meant by this delay, than barely suspending for a month their resolution to comply with your request, I should not be uneasy about it, as, even then, there might probably be time enough for reinlisting, if they will reinlist at all, the number of men you demand. — But as it is scarce to be doubted that a very great majority of the present members will be chosen into the New Assembly, and it requires no great consideration to know, that hardly any change in the circumstances of the Kings' affairs, can render the Measure you propose less necessary than has been represented to them, I see not any good reason, why if they were, in the least, disposed to comply with it, they might not as well have done it at this time, as at any future day.

I shall, nevertheless, think it incumbent on me to repeat and enforce this demand upon the New Assembly so soon as it shall come together. — In the mean time, if any thing

in particular should occur to you, which you think may serve to stimulate them to the performance of this necessary act of duty, and will be pleased to communicate it to me, I shall endeavour to make the best use of it I am able.

But, least you should be induced to place an absolute dependance on having those men continued to you at the province expence, and, by that means, be led to over look any other methods that may offer themselves to you of obtaining proper garrisons for the Posts you have taken, I think myself obliged to acquaint you, that, from all I have observed, I do not believe it is any part of our peoples intention to make provision for supporting those in the pay of this Province, longer than to the 25^o of November.

I have the honour to be with greatest

respect, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient & most
humble servant

JAMES HAMILTON

His Excel^t General MONCKTON.

PETERS TO SAME.

PHILADELPHIA 24th Sept: 1760.

SIR,

Never was my heart more cheerful, the Inclosed Copy of General Amhersts Letter will tell you what has given me these Spirits, the surrender of all Canada without Blood. The Parole at Montreal is King George and Canada. General Amherst landed the day before Governor Murray on the Island & to him the surrender was made. Barry is gone wth y^e News to London & surely will have preferment and indeed he wants it, and deserves it.

Not a word from Europe. Our Assembly set again, on Monday & are in a little better temper having received a

Letter from the Agent that notwithstanding the Report of the Lords of Trade their Acts are not likely to be repealed in the Privy Council. They will not however agree to any Reenlistment, this must be done by the Next Assembly. Governor Sharpe's Assembly is now sitting on your Letter to him, but I know not in what humour they come together.

Lord send us some good news from K—g of Prussia. On Thursday last I waited on Mrs. Steele and conferred Private Baptism on your son William, she desiring it & Govr. Boone being hindered from coming so soon as they expected by an Intermittent. Our Town is sickly, but your Family hearty & in good cheer. I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

We are in the midst of our Rejoycing.

General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO SAME.

PRISQU'ISLE 1st October 1760.

SIR,

Capt. De Haas arrived here the 29th ult^o and delivered your Letter of the 18th I hope mine of the 15th & 22^d went down safe.

We have received by this Convoy 18 Bags of flour and two Swivels with some Ammunition. I write to Major Stewart for the Canvas and Nails. The other Articles are not wanted at present.

I heard nothing from Niagara since the 15th Sept^r and have sent a Boat there to Know if they have received any Provisions.

They have discovered at two miles from Le Boeuf, twenty-seven new Battoes partly burnt. I send a ship-Carpenter to see how many could be repaired. They have found also about 3000 feet of Boards saw'd for Batteaux by the French, which is much more than the House will want. If we can send them to Venango we shall.

All the Virginians go down with Cap^t De Haas. I expect every day your orders concerning M^r Bassett who will I suppose be wanted at Venango.

We Killed ten days ago our last Bullock. I wish some Cattle might be sent to Le Boeuf, being very inconvenient to supply them from hence.

I am much obliged to you for the good News sent us. If I receive any from Niagara, they shall be transmitted immediately.

I am Sir

Your most obedient &
most humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

PRESQU'ISLE 8th October 1760.

SIR,

Major Rogers brings us the most welcome News of the surrender of all Canada, as you must have had it before this can reach Pittsburgh I shall not enter into any Particulars.

As the Major proceeds immediately to Le Boeuf I have only time to inform you that our little sloop sails to morrow for Niagara, with all the Boats we have, to bring Provisions, & lay in a sufficient store at this Post for the Garrison & other occurrences.

As by Major Walters Letter, they have only a small

quantity of Pork at Niagara, you may perhaps think proper to send some Cattle from Pittsburgh with salt.

The block House will be completed in a few days, having been retarded by the badness of the Weather, when I shall send to Venango the House Carpenters. But I would think that one or two of the Ship Carpenters ought to be left here this Winter.

Permit me also, sir, to mention that Blankets & some Rum will be much wanted for the Garrison here, to prevent the ravages of the scurvey, as well as Medicines, Tobacco, Oakum, & Garden seeds for the Spring.

Mr Bassett is at Le Boeuf where the Post will be soon built. The French Battos by his account can be of no use, But there are Planks to build new ones if wanted.

We want only the Shingle Nails from Venango to finish the House.

None of His Majesty's subjects can more sincerely rejoice at this happy Conclusion than I do, who am most respectfully

Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

SAME TO SAME.

PRESQU'ISLE, 9th October 1760.

SIR,

I was favored this moment with your Letter of the 2^d Inst. and hope that Major Rogers (who arrived here yesterday afternoon, and proceeded to Le Boeuf) will deliver you General Amherst's Letters as soon as this can reach you.

I have nothing to inform you of. The boats and Flatt

went early this morning for Niagara, with orders to make the greatest dispatch.

I expect every day the Detachment of the Rangers who are to encamp here till their Major returns.

I am with great Regard

Sir,

Your most obedient
and most Humble serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

RETURN OF PROVISIONS IN STORE AT PRESQU' ISLE Oct' 9, 1760.

Barrells of Pork	Bull	Sheep	Pounds of Flour in Barrells & Bulk	
20	1	20	13,428	

EDW SMYTH

Con^r. Clerk.

To Coll. HENRY BOUQUET

PETERS TO MONCKTON.

PHILADELPHIA 9 8ber 1760.

SIR,

Your Favour of the 26th 7ber came to M^r Dunlaps on Thursday Night. This precipitate conquest of Canada has ruin'd your Newsmongers there not being one single Paragraph since that decisive Event worth reading in any of the Papers.

Not a word from Europe since the End of July.

Poor Carolina is in a most unhappy Situation and as General Amherst is now at Quebec and not expected at New York as I hear until December what can be done to prevent that poor Colony from being overrun?

I have a Letter from Governor Sharpes Secretary dated the 4th Instant acquainting me that the Assembly had not so much as taken the Governours Message into their Consideration notwithstanding they have set so long which does not promise well. I am afraid that you will find us all hang most heavily astern as to the Grant of Men for Garrisons. It is ill judged and cruel but private views are ever foremost in the minds of low Country Politicians. The Governor will do his part on your Letter received yesterday. They meet a Tuesday & we go to Newcastle the 28th which will occasion a small Break in my agreeable Correspondence for perhaps that poor Assembly may set a fortnight tho' they have not anything to do that I know of.

A Commissioner is arrived in both these Governments appointing seven Gentlemen for each Province to run the Boundary Lines betwⁿ Pennsylvania & Maryland. Governor Hamilton — Mr Allen — Myself — Mr Lardner — Mr Cheever — Mr Stephenson & Mr Holt are the Commissioners for this Province — and Gov^r Sharpe — Mr Tasker — Mr Lloyd — Mr Dulany — Mr Henry — Mr Boadley & Mr Malcolm are for Maryland. I will see next Spring for certain if Fort Pitt be in or out of this Province.

On this day I resign my Land Office into the hands of my Brother — and the Governors secretaryship will likewise be resigned next year so as to be entirely out of all publick Life. I hope my Friends will be of Opinion that after a Service of Twenty three years entirely devoted to publick Business I am in the Right to insist on a discharge and to be quite at my own disposal for the future part of my Life.

Mr Allen desires his respectful remembrance of you, Major Gates & Dr Russel in which I joyn with him very heartily. I am

Your Excellencys most obedient
& most humble Servant

RICHARD PETERS.

SAME TO SAME.

PHILADELPHIA 19th 8ber 1760.

SIR,

Your favour of the 3^d Instant came to my hands on Monday the 13th. The next day our new Assembly met and were immediately as soon as the speaker was qualified, saluted with a Message from the Gov^r earnestly desiring them to re-consider your Requisition for 400 men and grant the supplies to enable him to re-enlist. The Message and their Answer (for which James Ennis has been detain'd ever since Thursday Morning, wⁿ I was promis'd it by the Speaker) are copied and inclosed. I had a good deal of private discourse with M^r Norris y^e speaker and as I was not able to make any Impression upon him I saw that some such Answer would be given. It is of so much consequence to you to know the Result of this matter that I have ordered all the dispatch to be made by the Messengers that the Roads will admit of.

A Packet arrived this day sevensnight at New York & the Letters came by Wednesdays Post but bring nothing decisive.

You will see a most gallant Action performed by a part of Prince Ferdinands Army in which the Marquis of Granby signalized himself & his Corps are much distinguished. The King of Prussia has found means to return to Dresden & to lay siege to it but was obliged to raise the siege on the Approach of Count Daun, & has taken another Tour into Silesia. His affairs are very precarious. There is but one Letter by the Packet of the 26th Aug^t all the rest are on or before the 23^d. This letter of the 26th is written by a Lady in the Family of Commissioner Mead & she says the King & Ministers are afraid for Hanover. This I own is a little surprising considering the State of

Prince Ferdinands Army and the Character of the Commanders.

General Amherst staid a long time at Montreal & was but just gone to Quebec that is about 14 days ago, from whence he comes to New York. He has desired Mr Watts to get him a Coach having some how or other hurt his Leg.

I think, from the several Accounts that are given by persons of credit & some who know matters well, that Mr. Pitt has actually intimated that in case the King of Prussia miscarries or cannot otherwise be supported, an offer must be made to give up Canada to France if that Court will by this be induced to make a separate Peace.

We have no late Accounts from Carolina the cruel usage of Captⁿ Demerè calls for Vengeance and surely it will be recompenced as well for y^e honour of y^e Army as for Examples sake.

The Lower County Assembly sits to morrow where I shall be obliged to attend the Governor and stay there perhaps 10 or 12 days. My Brother will receive the Letters in my absence & send forward your Dispatches. I begin now to expect the pleasure of seeing you here soon as a General without an Army should be in good Quarters. I do not mention the Gentlemen with you so often as my Affection leads me thinking you communicate to them the news part of my Letters, but be pleased to assure them of my very sincere Respects and frequent remembrance.

I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

The Governor ordered me to send you Copies of the Examination of Major Orndt Mr Croston &c. about the Quantity of flour delivered during the last year at Forts

Augusta & Fort Allen but I have not had one moments time since Thursday & therefore desire you'll Excuse me & they shall be sent by the next Conveyance.

HAMILTON TO MONCKTON.

PHILADELPHIA Oct: 18^o 1760

SIR,

Our Assembly hath this day adjourned to the 5^o of January, And, as I always expected, without having in any respect complied with your requisition, of keeping up the four hundred men, for Winter garrisons, at the several Posts You have thought necessary to be taken to the Westward.

I have ordered M^r Peters to transmit you a copy of my Message and of their answer upon that subject, by which you will see the reasons they assign for their refusal.

The last, namely, the probability of some of their favourite Bills being repeal'd, is the true ground of their conduct; for should that happen to be the case, they will then, no longer, have it in their power to oppress their proprietaries with whom they are contending: and I believe it is very evident to all impartial lookers on, that the desire of obtaining that power, hath all along been the principal and leading motive to the aids, they have from time to time granted to the Crown.

What they say, with respect to the last hundred thousand pounds being nearly expended, is I believe true, as the anticipations upon that sum for the expences of the last year, did, as I am informed, amount to about £30,000 of the money.

If, nevertheless, they had been disposed to comply with your request, other ways & means might have been fallen on to defray the expence, without imposing new taxes upon

the people: for, there is a very considerable sum, which was granted to us in the two last sessions of parliament, now lying in England, part of which, might well have been drawn for, and apply'd to the purposes of your requisition without burthening the people with further taxes. but, you may depend upon it, Sir, that they have no intention to grant any more money for the service, but in a case of the last necessity; nor would they, as I am certainly informed, have given the last hundred thousand pounds, but that they absolutely depended upon my rejecting their Bill.

Agreeable to your request, I have taken some pains to enquire into the state of the victualling account at the Forts Augusta & Allen, and to that end had Major Orndts and Mr. Croston before me, and interrogated them upon certain queries that were sent me by Mr. Hoops; the result of which will also be communicated to you by Mr. Peters. — I must own the examination gave me but little satisfaction as to the right of the matter, which, perhaps, might be owing to my want of knowledge in the methods of proceeding made use of in the Army. I am inclined to believe, Sir, it will require your own personal enquiry when you come down, in which case, I shall be proud to afford you all the assistance in my power.

I hope e'er long for the pleasure of seeing you in Philadelphia for the Winter, which will give me the opportunity of cultivating a further acquaintance & friendship with you, which, on every account, is very much to be wished & desired by —

Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient and
most humble Servant

JAMES HAMILTON

His Excellency General MONCKTON.

PETERS TO SAME.

PHILADELPHIA 31st 8^{ber} 1760

SIR,

My Letter was sent away before yours of the 11th Instant came to hand. Col. Ennis met it & returned wth it & should have had with him my Acknowledgment of the receipt of it.

It will as you say make it very late before you can have the resolution of this new Assembly which consists of all the old material members. The Governor told me that one of the leading Members expressed himself as if they would raise no more supplies now Canada was taken & the War over in America, & I think you may safely depend upon it from what I hear other ways that the Assembly will not consent to y^e Reenlistment of the 400 men. I wish General Amherst who is expected every day at New York could know their temper & write them a Tickler.

The Capitulation for Canada is not yet arrived but it is said to be a very severe one. The Merchants as well as soldiery are to be transported to England or old France — no body to trade with y^e Indians without express Lysence — and all owners of Lands on their taking y^e Oath of Allegiance to retain their Possessions in quiet. — The King of G^t Britain to appoint a Bishop, the Regulars not to fight ag^t England during the War, neither in Europe nor America.

I suppose an officer will be sent to take Possession of fort Detroit and the other Forts on the Lakes on the part of His Majesty agreeable to the Capitulation & this will put an end to the Petit Guerre as well as put it in your power to let them know themselves.

I am under the last uneasiness about Carolina not a Letter from that Province but expresses a renewal of the War in a most dreadful manner if it should prove true

that Captⁿ Demere is killed & the Cannon trans[port]ing from fort Loudon to Fort Prince George.

Col Byrds Army was within 100 miles of Fort Loudon in good health, as David Franks told me before he went to New York after receiving a Letter from some officer of that Corps on their march.

From Montreal I have the following Disposition of the Forces. General Amherst gone to Quebec. General Gage Gov^r of Montreal with 2 Battalions of Royal Highlanders, the 44, 46, & 4th Battalions of the Royal Americans.

General Murray Gov^r of Quebec with the former Garrison except the 48 which is to be with Governor Burton at Trois Rivières.

The 17th, 22^d, 27, 40th and Royal to embark by way of Crown Point, but their Quarters not published. Gages Light Infantry at Fort W^m Augustus (Isle Royal.)

The 55th at Oswego & Fort Stanwix, Col. Montgomery to be blessed wth Nova Scotia.

[The remainder of this Letter from Richard Peters is gone.]

MERCER TO MONCKTON.

PRESQU'ISLE 2^d Nov^r 1760.

SIR,

I received the honour of your letter of the 19 Ult^o, in consequence of which and yours to Col. Bouquet, all my Detachment are ordered down except an officer & 25 men at Le Beuff and about 80 at this Post including what is on board the sloop, and a boats Crew sent with your Dispatches to the Commanding Officer at Niagara.

Thro' sundrie dis-appointments & Losses in transporting Provisions across the Lake, it is judged necessary to detain a party sufficient to make a trip to Niagara in the Battoes

we are building, otherwise the number here might have been greatly reduced.

I shall not fail to communicate to my People the encouragement you are pleased to give them, should the service require their being detain'd beyond the Time of their enlistment, and I make no doubt they will continue to do their duty cheerfully

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant

HUGH MERCER.

General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

PRESQU'ISLE 4th November 1760.

SIR,

The Evening of the 28th October I received by Major Rogers your Letter of the 18th do. and on the 31st the other of the 19th by Mr Croghan.

The 2^d Instant Captain Cambell arrived with his Detachm^t and embarked the 3^d. But being too late, they put in again, and are gone early this morning in 19 Whale Boats and Batteaux, with about seven Weeks bread, and 11 Weeks meat, including 42 Beeves going by the Path along the Shore, escorted by some Indians, 42 Rangers, and 15 R. A. (as there was not Batteaux for all the men) attended by two Whale Boats to ferry the men over the Rivers and Creeks. The French used to drive their Cattle that way, and I hope they will get safe to Detroit in 12 or 14 days.

We have kept only a fortnights Provision here, and given them all we had, as per Returns Inclosed.

There are besides four Battoes with Rangers gone back to Niagara the 1st Inst. with orders to proceed with Provisions (chiefly Pork) by the North shore of the Lake to Detroit as it is a much shorter and better Navigation.

Two Batteaux that had been left behind are daily expected here, having sent Materials & People to mend them, & as I hope to receive soon a supply from Venango they will be loaded & sent after them.

Cap^t Gamelin who is a man of Character, assures me as well as the Guide *La Fleur*, that there is flour at Detroit sufficient to feed the Troops sent there But no meat except what is purchased of the Indians for Powder and Lead. Mr Croghan who went formerly by land from Pittsburgh near to Detroit is of opinion that Cattle might easily be driven that Way, with a Party and some Indian guides.

From Pittsburgh to the mouth of Beaver Creek	30 miles
To the Salt Leaks (by the shortest Way)	50
To Cayogau	40
To Sandusky	30
To Detroit	

You will judge how far that is practicable, But as there is flour there, and much Indian Corn, That Party could stay at Detroit, and the Cattle be kept alive, as there is good Pasture the whole Winter, besides Hay and the Fields of Indian Corn: The French Garrison having almost killed all their Oxen to the number of 1400, last Winter.

Major Rogers will send immediately from Detroit some Batteaux to Niagara and this Post, with Rangers and Canadians to attempt getting in more Provisions. But there is, in every body's opinion, no dependance upon the Lake at this season.

The moment I received your Letter for Major Walters, I forwarded it by a Whale Boat, and recommended to send as much Provisions as possible, besides what the Detachment could bring, and lay in a good store at the Landing,

ready to be loaded by any Batteaux sent from Detroit or this Place.

The Shipwrights having been employed hitherto in repairing the old Batteaux now gone, are building Six large new ones, which I hope to have ready in twelve days, provided we receive Nails, the 30th they have brought being too small, and not a third of what is wanted by their Account. The French Battos at Le Boeuf being not fit to be repaired, We have burnt them to get the Nails, which have already enabled us to refit the fleet, and will help in building the new ones.

I have sent all the Pensilvanians down, except 25 men with an officer at Le Boeuf, 42 here to man the 6 new Battos to make a Trip to Niagara, 11 artificers to assist the Carpenters in Sawing &c, and 22 more including sick officers, servants &c.

M^r Bassett is gone with them to Venango, and they are to clear the Creek of all Incumbrances that can obstruct the Passage of your Batteaux.

It is hardly possible to meet with more dis-appointment and misfortunes than we have had.

From the 1st day of October the Wind has blown constantly from the Sth W. & continues still, and almost every day heavy squalls and storms.

The Rangers arrived here only the 24th with three of our own Batteaux, they had lost three with 37 Barrells of Provisions, the rest in the most shattered Condition, having lost almost all their Oars &c.

Our little Sloop after having been twice very near this Place, was blown off, and I fear is either perished or has put back to Niagara. I have sent three times in quest of her without success. She has a Boat with her, and 80 Barrells of Provisions.

Considering the immense difficulty and Expence of getting Provisions up at present, I should think that the 60 R. A. you have ordered from Niagara, would be sufficient

to garrison this Post, and detach a serjeant & 15 to Le Boeuf, which could be relieved every month. Having now Detroit, I see no danger for those Posts.

The scarcity of Provisions, and the distances will I apprehend make it impracticable for Cap^t Cambell to take Possession of any other Fort except Detroit for this Winter, tho' with the assistance of the Canadians, the French Garrisons may be brought off.

The distance from here, to Detroit by the French acc ^t is	80 leagues
From Detroit to Machillimakina	120 leagues
From that Post to la Baye on (y ^e right of Michigan . . .	80
From Detroit by land to S ^t Joseph	80

Besides several other Posts as *Les Mis*, Ouyaws, &c. further to the South, and many more upon Lake Huron, Lake Superior, and several Hundred Miles beyond it as far as our own Posts upon Hudson's Bay; they are commonly two years in that Journey from Montreal, and there is no appearance that our Troops will ever go so far.

Ammunition being the readiest Way to procure meat from the savages, I have kept only a few made Cartridges here, and shall send after them besides, the chief Part of what I expect by your Batteaux. I recommended to Cap^t Cambell to collect all the Powder from the Inhabitants and our own Merchants to reduce the Indians to come to him for it, till he can be better supplied. He will also procure an account of all the Flour that the Inhabitants can spare, and have it delivered in the Kings stores to be paid for. I was first very uneasy to see them so ill provided, but upon the Informations from the French I make no doubt that they will be sufficiently supplied, at least of Bread. As soon as I receive an Answer from Niagara, and see things here in a better situation, I shall go down, But I can not leave this Post in this present distress reduced to Eight Beeves, no Pork, and 1500^{lb} Flour.

Another Cause of the diminution of our Stores, is the great Quantity of flour entirely unfit for use that we have

found upon Inspection, an account of which I shall send you, as I will not detain this Express, who has orders to make the greatest diligence.

I write in the most pressing manner to Major Stewart and am certain by the many Ways and means you have used, that all will yet go well.

I can not finish this long Letter without returning you my thanks for the extreme Indulgence you have been pleased to shew in favour of Ensⁿ Hay. It was not proper for me to interfere in that unhappy affair. But I know that if he can be saved it will be very agreeable to the Corps, and I hope to the Major also.

I am with great Regard

Sir,

Your most obedient and most
humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

AMHERST TO MONCKTON.

ALBANY 3^d November 1760.

SIR,

On the 31st ultimo, in my march hither, I was favored with your letter of the 23^d August via Niagara; and yesterday by the way of New York I had the pleasure of receiving your two others of the 9th and 17th October.

I join in opinion with you, that wherever the navigation will admit of it, a vessel is every way preferable to Batteaus; and I am very glad you ordered Colonel Bouquet to build one; so soon as I knew your intentions, which was through Major Walters some time ago, I ordered the latter to furnish Colonel Bouquet with all the naval stores he might require, and what the magazine of Niagara was de-

ficient in, to have recourse to those of Oswego, where I likewise sent directions to furnish whatever they could.

A small blockhouse such as you mention at Leboeuf, is full sufficient there ; indeed since the capitulation, by which Detroit is to be in our possession, all our posts within that Communication may be small, and the numbers in each very few.

I thank you for the sketch of the road and river you have sent me ; the communication by water I see is very indifferent.

There is no guarding against the treachery of the Indians, so long as they have any connection with the French, we may expect they will scalp or carry off any single man or small party, that will expose themselves to their villainy ; but I am apt to think, that so soon as we are in possession of the Detroit, your communication will be entirely free and safe ; as then they will have nobody at whose door to lay their guilt, and must expect the punishment due to their crimes, which upon conviction they must meet with, and by such treatment only, will it be possible to deter them from evil and keep them within due bounds.

Thus you see, Sir, we perfectly agree in our way of thinking, concerning these savages, who doubtless cannot be trusted ; indeed there need not a more glaring proof of it, than that inhuman breach of the capitulation of Fort Loudoun of which I had not received any accounts from authority, till that you have now transmitted me in the extract of Colonel Bird's letter, and though I saw it in the publick papers, I was willing to hope it was without foundation ; more particularly so, as I had conceived no idea, that one of the King's Forts could yield to a parcel of miscreants, without artillery or apparatus capable to reduce it, if properly defended ; the little Carpenter, in whom Col. Bird seems to put so much confidence, was, I am afraid, a great instrument in advising the commanding officer to this inconsiderate step ; and I am very glad that you have cautioned the Colonel to beware of him.

I see with pleasure that Major Rogers had joined you, and that you had sent him on with Capt. Campbell; the party you sent with them is full sufficient to carry my instructions into execution; and you will find that the strength of the French at the Detroit, is not half so considerable as reported: nor will Capt. Campbell, I am apprehensive, find that place so destitute of provisions; by the accounts the French gave me of it, the climate is extremely temperate and healthy; and the country abounding in game and fish.

Under the present circumstances of affairs, if the season will not allow of garrisoning the posts of Michillemackinack St Joseph and others, I shall be under no anxiety for them, as that of the Detroit will sufficiently answer every purpose.

The same reasons make me likewise less anxious at the backwardness of the Provinces in furnishing the quotas you very justly demanded of them for the winter; at the same time they are not the less blameable; for were these quotas absolutely necessary, it does not seem likely they would have been furnished.

The fifty or sixty men you purpose to take from Niagara to make up this deficiency, may well be spared from thence; nay even if you should require a hundred, you can have them; my only reason for leaving so large a garrison there now, being to compleat the works of that Fort, whenever the season will permit to carry them on.

What I mentioned to you concerning Mess^{rs} Vaudreuil and Levis complaints, was mere matter of form, I believe they are all pretty well adjusted now.

My reason for deferring to fill up Captain Fullwood's succession in favor of M^r St George, when Lt Col Darby recommended it, was that there were several officers senior to L^t St George at that time; wherefore that they might not lose their rank, I postponed till they were provided for; so soon as that was done, without putting any one in the

17th Reg^t, I signed the commissions in your Regiment according to the recommendation, and enclosed I send you the list of all that have been granted in it, since the beginning of the campaign.

Colonel Montgomery returned some time ago, but left Major Hamilton with four companies of the Royal at the Congarees; which together with one thousand men, the latter writes me, the provinces were raising in September, must, I should think, secure that Colony against any danger from the Indians: however, if any application is made to me for further succours, I am prepared to assist them with some light infantry, which I shall send thither upon the first notice, under the command of an experienced officer; the light infantry of the 17, is to be of that detachment.

Governor Dobbs' letter to me contains only his fears for Georgia and Carolina, which I cannot think in such imminent danger provided the people of those provinces will exert themselves with a becoming spirit, and not suffer themselves to be butchered without resistance. Enclosed is a copy of his letter and my answer.

Ensign Duplessis fate sufficiently evinces the bad consequences resulting from a neglect of following a cautious council; but I hope he will be found again.

You may rely on Presqu'isle being properly and sufficiently supplied from Niagara with provisions and every thing else that can be had from thence.

On my arrival here I met with Capt. Bayard who was sent express to me from Halifax with the disagreeable accounts of the death of Governor Lawrence on the 19th October, after a very few days illness. The four letters herewith for you came by the same opportunity.

The last packet which left Falmouth in August, brought us accounts of some advantages gained by Prince Ferdinand and by a ship lately come in from Ireland, there is a Gazette containing some further successes in Germany by

the King of Prussia over the Austrians; and tho' neither of these actions were decisive, yet we may hope that they are the happy preludes of a favorable issue of the campaign in our behalf.

I am, with great truth & regard

Sir,

Your most obedient

Humble servant

JEFF. AMHERST.

P.S. You will please order the first battalion Royal Americans, to lay up their camp equipage of this year, that they may be ready to take the field on the shortest notice, and you will direct them to have that for the campaign 1761, ready, by at furthest, the first of April next.

J. A.

Hon^{ble} Brig^{de} General MONCKTON.

AMHERST TO GOV^r DOBBS.

ALBANY 3^d NOVEMBER 1760

SIR,

Yesterday I was favored with your letter of the 2^d August, which you see has not reached me much sooner than those you thereby acknowledge did you. Your observations upon the neglect of the Post Office is certainly but too just, and it were to be wished that your remonstrances thereupon were followed by the method of conveyance you propose, as without it, the intercourse must be very precarious.

The loss of Fort Loudoun, the first authentick account of which I had only yesterday, is doubtless a very disagreeable event, and may perhaps encourage those barbarian savages

to attempt some other enterprise ; but I am confident, that if the Southern provinces will exert themselves with a becoming spirit, and repel these hostilities with that vigour which their own interests and safety requires, Georgia cannot be lost, nor Carolina be in any danger. On the contrary, from the regular forces already in that last mentioned province, and the thousand men I am informed they were raising there in September, I have not the least doubt but they will compell the Indians to sue for peace.

I am with great regard

Sir, Your most obedient humble

Servant

JEFF. AMHERST

His Excellency Gov^r DOBBS

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

(Indorsed, REC^d BY SIR JOHN ST. CLAIR DEC^r Y^r 8th)

FORT PITT 26th November 1760

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that I arrived last night from Presqu'isle, where I waited till the 19th in daily expectation of seeing the R. A. or receiving an answer from Major Walters. But had no news from that quarter since the beginning of October.

Your orders were sent to him the 31st October, and the next day four Battoes with Rangers ordered for Provisions to Niagara overtook that Whale boat, and proceeded together. This I heard from a Party sent before to bring in a French Battoe lying about 80 miles from Presque Isle. Therefore I can make no doubt that your letters arrived safe.

The 9th Instant I sent that same Battoe just repaired &

remarkably strong to Niagara, with Duplicates for the Major. They had the misfortune to be cast by the wind upon a rocky shore, the Battoe split but the men returned safe.

The weather continuing very bad, I could get no new Battoes built till the 14th when I got two, & sent them to Detroit with 3200^{lb} flour, and a large quantity of ammunition, under the care of L^t Morris, 18 Rangers and two gunners.

The 19th We had two more Battoes finished which I sent immediately well manned to Niagara, with Letters for the Major. Our provisions being then reduced to twenty Pounds fresh meat and seventy Pounds Pork, 3400^{lb} flour, I left a small Detachment there with the Shipwrights under the command of Captain Miles & Ensign Enslow, & came down. I met fifteen Bullocks near Le Boeuf, with about 4000^{lb} flour and the Blankets; Sir John had sent since twenty Bullocks now on the Road, and loaded ten Batteaux with flour; and as soon as possible I shall repair & collect about ten Batteaux more to make a last Trip, and push if it Rains to Le Boeuf. Twenty Bullocks will also be sent in two days. As my baggage is not come yet, I shall Enclose the Returns of the upper Posts in my next, and also to know if I am to send Recruiting Parties to the Settlements.

In the supposition that Captain Barnsley would be ordered to attend the Settlement of our accounts at New York, I named Cap^t Lieut. Ourry to command at Bedford after he has done with his accounts; Should you chuse to have another Captain sent He will go immediately; It is Lieut. Sumner of the Virg^a. Regiment (said to be a careful officer) who is marched to Bedford in lieu of Lieu^t Lawson.

Mr. Hubbard having desired to be mentioned to you, I beg leave to recommend him to your Protection.

Lieut. Philips request(s) to be put upon the list for purchasing a Captain Lieut^{cy}

I have the honour to be with great Respect Sir

Your most obedient & Most

Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

(Indorsed. REC^d. DEC²² Y^r 12TH)

FORT PITT 29th November 1760.

SIR,

This is to inclose you the Monthly Return of the Battalion.

The Rain we have had for three days have raised the Rivers & Creeks so as to make it doubtful whether the Express sent to Venango & Presque Isle can get along.

We have only 90 Bushels of forrage in store. What may remain at Fort Burd & flour shall be sent for.

The Virginians exceeding 300 R. & F. are going down, and out of them L^t Col. Stephen is to leave a few at Fort Cumberland.

All Carriages are discharged except six horses which have been appraised at £72. and two more of the King's left here, which makes two Teams for the Works.

Of the six Waggon Horses we had at Presque Isle, one was lost during the Campaign, and five I sent down from Venango with my own, under the care of a Sergeant and five men of the Pensilv^{ns}. The men arrived the 27th having had the horses stolen, or lost them: I sent them back with two R.A. & one Indian to hunt for them.

It is not the only Instance those Troops have given me of their carelessness & neglect of duty: I had intelligence by them that six of the men I had sent in the two last Battoes for Niagara, had deserted the Party the first night they landed, and had marched two days with them on the Road, and were suspected to have stolen the Horses tho' they had stayed behind at that time.

I dispatched orders along both Communications to have them seized & sent safely back to this Fort and hope they will not Escape.

As you are informed that a considerable number of our men are now entitled to their discharge, having been enlisted in the beginning of the War for three and four years; and those recruited at that time in Virg^a pretending to have the same Right, by virtue of a Proclamation, which I have heard of, but not seen, I would be glad to receive your orders upon it, as they will make a large Breach in the Battⁿ and be more particular upon several articles.

Having met here your Letters of the 26th 30th Oct^r & 13th November, all the Pensilvania & Delaware Troops are ordered to March tomorrow for Carlisle, leaving their Tents & spare arms; and I have sent before them the Detachments you ordered to relieve the Posts upon both Communications as per Return Inclosed: They have all their orders & Instructions in writing.

As soon as they are marched, I shall to the utmost in my power execute your further orders as to the upper Garrisons: But I beg leave to say nothing upon that subject till I receive your answer to my Letter of the 4th.

A Foot Express is fixed at Each Post as far as Juniatta where the chain will break, till you are pleased to give me your orders on that subject.

The Pensilvania Troops lefft at Presque Isle & Le Boeuf will be immediately relieved by the Virginians

from Venango, who will keep those Posts till the R.A. arrive.

I am with great Respect,

Sir, your most Obedient & most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 2^d December 1760

SIR,

I received yesterday the inclosed from Captain Miles who commands at Presqu'Isle: As he is a man of spirit I hope he will prevent the desertion of those Posts till the Detachments ordered from Venango can get there: As they had no Intelligence of the R.A. the 23^d at Presqu' Isle, I doubt much of their coming at all. In which case it will not be possible to feed from hence above twenty men at that Post, even in the supposition that we can drive hogs up, which is very precarious, as Major Stewart writes me by water that his Express by land could not swim the Creeks. But I will send his Letter inclosed.

Last night I had intelligence that one corporal & five men of the Pensylv^a. Troops being Part of an escort sent by Sir John with twenty Bullocks to Venango had deserted; I have got three of the men arrested But the Corporal and two more have escaped; I have sent the strictest orders down the Communication to arrest all those Deserters, upon which I beg I may receive your orders.

This day twenty more (& the last we have) Bullocks sett off for Venango, from whence they are to proceed to Presqu'Isle & Le Boeuf, and I send eight Battoes loaded with salted Beef for the use of the Garrison at Venango; the River is very high & the frost severe. I hope tho' they will get there before the River is frozen.

The Battoes sent by Sir John the 23. were seen yesterday thirty miles only from this, The water being too deep for setting poles.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obed^t &
humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

General MONCKTON

Capt. Buckner Virg^a Reg^t who is to command at Venango takes the Bullocks wth him and has his written orders how to act at his Post, in regard to the upper ones.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 4th December 1760

(Rec^d. y^e 23^d)

SIR,

The inclosed are arrived this moment from Presqu'Isle and Niagara.

I can not give you a more distinct account of the actual state of our upper posts than by the inclosed Copy of all the Letters and orders concerning them since I am here.

I have done all I could to support them, But it is now too late, and it is impossible to send them any thing more this year, except hogs if the Creeks should fall: and even then we have no Horses to carry Corn to feed them, & some more salt.

If Major Walters has received since the date of his Letter Battoes & Provisions from Oswego, all may be well yet, tho' it will be a great Luck if they can cross Lake Errie at this Season.

Having had lately a Letter from Col. Haldimand who

comands the 4th Battⁿ R.A. acquainting me that they have discharged 123 of their men whose time was expired, I must do the same here, for those who have clear Titles, or the consequences might be worse

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient
& most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

General MONCKTON.

COPY OF CAPTAIN CAMPBELL'S LETTER TO COL. BOUQUET,
RECEIVED BY HIM THE 24TH DEC^R. 1760.

SIR,

Major Rogers & His Detachm^t came safe to this place y^e 29th Nov^r. We had only y^e misfortune to loose one man of my Comp. T. that fell overboard by some accident, and some Batteaux drove ashore & some Boxes of Cartridges damagd. There is no Dependance on the Lake this Season of the year, it is at least a hundred leagues from this to Presq'Isle, but people here say it is a better navigation than the North Coast.

Two days after we left you we were joynd by some of the principal People of the *Tawaa* (sic) Nation, who came to make Peace with you at Presq'isle, who returned with us, & then by the Wyandotts, whom we were obligd to humour & give them Provisions, as we did not know what Reception we were to have at this place. They were highly pleas'd with what we told them, But all this added to the consumption of our provisions, you know how little we co'd spare, but we co'd not help it & some of it not fitt to be made use of.

Mons^r Beletre wo'd give no credit to the Report of our coming as Friends, but when I brought him the Marquis Vaudreuil's Ltr He did every thing with a Good Grace. I am certain when you see Him you will not be so much prejudiced against Him, besides He is now your prisoner.

Your project of sending the Cattle by Land has turned out very well. They have been of great use to us. Mr. Navarre will continue to act in his old employm^t, till he putts us in the way of it. He thinks the Inhabitants can supply our Detachm^t with Flour till next Spring or very near that time, but how we shall be supply'd with meat will be the Difficulty. We are still in hopes of 5 Boats from Niagara There's no dependance on the Lake. They expect it to be froze every Hour. I believe we co'd get some people to go from this, I do not know how far it wo'd answer, Their horses must be wore out before They got there, & co'd not return with a Load. I shall be better Judge of what we want when Cap: Cochran returns. You co'd get Indians to undertake it from Pittsburgh.

We found the Kings Stores here almost empty. Some Barrels of Powder & not much of any thing else, I have not got a Return of it as yet, as Major Rogers took all that on Himself. He is to give me over every thing that belongs to the Post to-morrow.

Major Rogers is preparing to send to the Posts to bring of the people, he cannot possibly send any of us as the Season is too far advanced & want of provisions. Every body here say he will find great Difficulty to go Himself to Mackelimakanac (sic) even with a small Detachm^t. They doubt even if it is possible to be done. We are to have a Treaty with the Indians tomorrow, I shall have a good deal of Difficulty to manage them for the first time, they are so much accusomd to come to the French Comandant for every thing they want.

The Inhabitants seem very Happy at the change of Governm^t but they are in great want of Every Thing. It has

been a very flourishing place, before the War, plenty of every thing.

The Fort is much better than we expected. It is one of the Best Stockades I have seen but the Comandants house, and what belongs to the King, in bad Repair. We got our people Quartered in the Fort, for the first time this night. I shall be able to write more fully about every thing in a few Days. I shall be glad to hear from you how soon it is possible.

I am with the greatest Respect

Your most obedient humble serv^t

DONALD CAMPBELL

DETROIT Dec 2^d 1760

No accounts of poor Duplessis M^r Belletre will satisfy you that they know nothing of it att Detroit.

Mr. Holmes the Lieu^t of the Rangers chosing to deliver himself his Letters for you and General Amherst I send you Copy of Capt. Campbells Letter to me

Major Stewart is arrived from Venango: I shall begin to send some of his People to Winchester and the rest as soon as possible

H. BOUQUET

FORT PITT 25th December 1760

COL. BOUQUET TO GEN^l MONCKTON.

FORT PITT 25th December 1760.

SIR,

Yesterday arrived from Detroit Lieu^t Holmes of the Rangers Escorting the French garrison of that Post, which consists of three officers and 35 Privates Seventeen

English Prisoners ; The Escort two off : and 2 Serg^s 28 Privates.

They shall rest here two days, and proceed to Philadelphia : as you will receive Letters from Major Rogers & Capt. Campbell, I will not trouble you with the few particulars they write me. I expect every day Croghan who was to sett off, four days after them and is to bring the Returns & List of what they want : If the ten Canadiens sent from Detroit come, I shall send some Hogs to Detroit, as soon as I receive them.

Ensⁿ Erwin of the Pensilvania Troops, arrived from Niagara last night, and had the misfortune to loose all his Bagage & Letters by the oversetting of a Canoe in crossing a Creek betwixt Le Boeuf & Venango. Ensⁿ Christie with 30 R.A. is arrived at Presqu'Isle, and the Virginians returned to Venango. You will see by the Returns that Presqu'Isle hath four months flour & upwards of six meat, exclusive of the thirty last Bullocks I sent up. Venango largely supplied, with Six Batteaux kept there to push forward as soon as practicable.

Le Boeuf will have abundance of Meat, and two or three horses will keep them in Bread. I shall buy them of the Indians if I cannot hire them :

The two new Batteaux I sent after Major Rogers with flour & ammunion, are arrived safe at Detroit. But they had heard nothing of those going by the N. Shore of the Lake.

No more men can be sent this Winter from Niagara for want of Batteaux.

When Croghan arrives I shall write you. This goes by Dr Bond whom I will not detain.

I have the Honour to be Sir

Your most obedient & most
Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

FORT PITT 29th December 1760.

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose you the Returns of this Post.

The French Prisoners march to morrow. The Weather having not permitted to send them sooner.

There are some Germans among the soldiers Prisoners. Six of which would Inlist in this Battⁿ if you think proper to permit us to take them. I inclose their names.

Mr. Belestre desired me to mention to you that he hath some houses belonging to himself at the Post called *Miamis*, within the Stockadoes of that Fort, and wants to obtain leave to sell or let them, to the Traders who may have occasion for them.

As most of the Houses at Detroit are likewise built in the Fort, What you will determine as to the properties of such buildings & the disposal of the same, will be a rule for the other Posts.

I send you a Court of Inquiry upon Peter Shommar, it will be easy to discover the truth if you order a Letter to be written to the Magistrates of the Place of his abode. I send him a Prisoner down by Lieut. Holmes. I have expected Croghan daily, he is not come yet. The Rations for Indians were a little reduced, but Crowds of them are come and gone lately.

I never could get a satisfactory account of the Provisions Issued to them: There is a Veil Kept over the transactions of our Managers which will not disapear till we get rid of them all:

The Clerk Gilbraith is accused by Major Stewart of attempting to make him sign double Returns for the same Provisions at Venango, and of neglect of duty &c. as he

appears evidently guilty, I desired Mr. Hamilton to have him relieved by the first opportunity :

I send to morrow a party of the R.A. to relieve the Post at Red Stone Creek: all the Sick of the Virg^a Detachment go that way to Winchester, with an officer.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Most obed^t
& Most Hble Serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

CROGHAN'S JOURNAL.

(to 7th January 1761.)

October 21st 1760. In pursuance to my Instructions I set of from Fort Pitt to join Major Rogers at Presqu'Isle in order to proceed with the Detachm^t of his Majestys Troops under his Command to take possession of Fort D'Troit.

25th I joined Capt Campbell at Venango who was on his march to Presqu'Isle with a Detachment of the Royal Americans to join Major Rogers.

26th I halted at Venango as the French Creek was very high, to assist in getting the Pack Horses loaded with Pitch & Blanketts for the Kings service over.

27th Left Venango.

30th Got to La'Bauf.

31st Arrived at Presqu'Isle where I delivered Major Rogers his Orders from General Monckton.

November 3^d Cap^t Brewer of the Rangers with a Party of forty Men set of by Land with the Bullocks with whom I sent fifteen Indians of different Nations, to pilot them, with Orders that if they met with any of the Indians of the Western Nations hunting on the Lake Side to tell them to come and meet me. This Evening we loaded our Boats & lay on the shore that night.

4th We set sail at seven o'clock in the morning & at three in the afternoon we got to Siney Sipey or Stoney Creek about ten Leagues from Presqu'Isle where we went ashore in a fine Harbour and encamped.

5th At seven o'Clock in the Morning we set sail, about 12 we were met by about thirty Ottawas who had an English Flag, they saluted us with a discharge of their fire Arms, we then put ashore shook hands and smoked with them out of their Council Pipe, we drank a dram and then embarked, about two o'Clock arrived at Wajea Sipery or Crooked Creek, went ashore in a good Harbour and encamped, this day went about seven Leagues. After we had encamped I called a meeting of all the Indians and acquainted them of the Reduction of Montreal, and agreeable to the Capitulation we were going to take possession of Fort D'Troit, Misselemakinack, Fort St Joseph's &c. and carry the French Garrisons away Prisoners of War & Garrison the Forts with English Troops, that the French Inhabitants were to remain in possession of their property on their taking the Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty King George, and assured them by a Belt of Wampum that all Nations of Indians should enjoy a free Trade with their Brethren the English and be protected in peaceable possession of their hunting Country as long as they adhered to his Majestys Interest. The Indians in several Speeches made me, expressed their satisfaction at exchanging their Fathers the French for their Brethren the English who they were assured were much better able to supply them with all necessaries, and then begged that we might forget every thing that happened since the commencement of the War, as they were obliged to serve the French from whom they got all their necessitys supplied, that it was necessity and not choice that made them take part with the French which they confirmed by several Belts and Strings of Wampum. The principal Man of the Ottawas said on a large Belt that he had not long to live & said pointing to two

Men those Men I have appointed to transact the Business of my Tribe, with them you confirmed the Peace last year when you came up to Pittsburgh, I now recommend them to you, and I beg you may take notice of them and pity our women and Children as they are poor and naked, you are able to do it & by pitying their Necessitys you will win their Hearts. The Speaker then took up the Pipe of Peace belonging to the Nation and said Brother to Confirm what we have said to you I give you this Peace Pipe which is known to all the Nations living in this Country and when they see it they will know it to be the Pipe of Peace belonging to our Nation then delivered the Pipe.

The principal Man then requested some Powder & Lead for their young Men to stay there and hunt for the support of their familys as the Chiefs had agreed to go with us to D'Troit, and a little Flower which I applied to Major Rogers for who chearfully ordered it to me as I informed him it was necessary & would be for the good of his Majestys Indian Interest.

6th At seven o'Clock we set sail in Company with the Indians arrived at a pretty large Creek called Onchuago or fire Creek about twelve Leagues from Crooked Creek, where we went ashore and incamped, a fine Harbour; here we met seven familys of Ottawa Indians Hunting.

7th We loaded our Boats, sent of the Battoes with the Provisions and some Whale Boats to attend them, but before they had got two Miles they were obliged to return the Wind springing up so high that no Boat could live on the Lake. Continued our encampment here the whole day.

8th 9th & 10th We continued here the Wind so high could not put out of the Harbour here the Indians gave us great quantitys of Bears & Elks Meat, very fat.

11th About One o'Clock P.M. set sail, a great swell in the Lake, at Eight o'Clock got into a little Cove went ashore & encamped on a fine strand, about six Leagues from fire

Creek, where Mr Braam with his party had been some time encamped.

12th At half an hour after Eight A.M. set sail, very Calm, about 10 came on a great squawl, the Waves run Mountains high, about half an hour after twelve we got into Gichawga Creek where is a fine Harbour, some of the Battoes were forced a shore on the Strand and received considerable damage, some of the flower wet and the Ammunition Boat allmost staved to Pieces, here we found several Indians of the Ottawa Nation hunting, who received us very kindly they being old Acquaintances of mine, here we overtook Cap^t Brewer of the Rangers with his party who set of by Land with some Cattle, this day came about four Leagues.

13th We lay by to mend our Boats.

14th The Wind blew so hard we could not set of. This day we were allarmed by one of the Rangers who reported he saw about Twenty French within a Mile of our encampment on which I sent out a party of Indians and Major Rogers a party of Rangers, both partys returned without discovering any thing, but the Tracts of two Indians who went out a hunting that Morning.

15th Fine Weather we set sail and at twelve o'Clock came to Siquene Thipec or Stony Creek where we met a Wayondott Indian named Togasoady, and his family a hunting. He informed me he was fifteen days from D'Troit, that before he left that the French had Accounts of the reduction of Montreal & that they expected an English Army from Niagara to D'Troit every day; that M. Balletré, would not believe that the Governor of Montreal had Capitulated for D'Troit; that he had no more than fifty soldiers in the Fort; that the Inhabitants and Indians who were at home were very much afraid of being plundered by our Soldiers, and he requested that no outrage might be committed by our soldiers on the Indian settlements, as the chief of the Indians were out a hunting. I assured them

that there should be no plundering. This afternoon we came to Nechey Thepy or two Creeks, about Nine Leagues from Gichawga, high banks all the way & most part of it a perpendicular Rock about 60 feet high.

16th a storm so that we could [not] stir.

17th The Wind continued very high, stayed here this day, set of the Cattle with an escort of Souldiers and Indians.

18th Set Sail came to Oulame Thepy or Vermillion Creek a narrow Channel about Eight foot Water a large Harbour when in, about four o'Clock came to Notowacy Thepy a fine Creek runing through a Meadow about Eighteen foot Water, this day came about seven Leagues; here I met three Indians who informed me that the Deputys I sent from Fort Pitt had passed by their hunting Cabin Eight days agoe on their way to D'Troit in order to deliver the Messages I sent by them to the several Indian Nations.

19th Several Indians came down the Creek to our encampment and made us a present of dryed Meat, set of, came to the little Lake just as the Cattle set over from thence, set of from here came to a Creek which runs through a marshy Meadow, here we encamped, came this day about Six Leagues.

20th Mr. Braam set of to D'Troit with a Flag of Truce and took with him Mr Gamblin a French Gentleman an Inhabitant of D'Troit. This day about One o'Clock we met a Canoe of Wayandott Indians who informed us that the Deputys I sent to y^e several Nations living about Fort D'Troit, from Fort Pitt had got there and collected the principal Men of the several Nations together and delivered their Messages which were well received by the Indians, and that a Deputation of the Indians were appointed to come with my Deputys to meet us at that place which was the Carrying place from Sandusky into the Lake, we put into the Creek called Crambary Creek, went a shore & encamped to wait the arrival of those Deputys; we sent over the Carrying place to two Indian Villages

which are within two Miles of each other to invite the Indians to come & meet the Deputys at our Camp. This day came four Leagues.

21st Towards Evening some of the Indians from the two Villages came to our Camp ; just after dark a Cannoe came in sight who immediately saluted us with three discharges of their fire Arms, which was returned from our Camp, on their arrival we found them to be the Deputys sent from the Nations living about D'Troit with the Deputys I had sent from Fort Pitt, as soon as they landed the Deputys I had sent introduced them to Maj^r Rogers, Cap^t Campbell and myself & said they had delivered their Messages [to] the several Nations and that the Indians which came with them were come to return Answers which we should hear in the Morning & they hoped their answers would be to our expectations after drinking a dram round we dismissed them & gave them Provisions.

22^d About 9 o'Clock the Indians met in Council, though several of their People were in Liquor, & made several speeches on strings and one Belt of Wampum all to the following purport.

BRETHREN

We your Brethren of the several Nations living in this Country received your Messages well and return you thanks for sending us word of what has happened and your coming to remove the French Garrison out of our Country and putting one there of our Brethren the English ; your Conduct in sending us timely notice of it is a Confirmation of your sincerity & upright intentions towards us and we are sent here to meet you & bid you welcome to our Country.

Brethren all our principal Men are met on this side the French Garrison to shake hands with you in Friendship & have determined in Council to abandon the French Interest and receive our Brethren the English as our true Friends & establish a lasting Peace with you & we expect

you will support us and supply us with a free & open Trade for the Cloathing of our Women and Children. Then they delivered two strings of Wampum to the Six Nations and Delawares returning them thanks for sending Messages to them with the Deputys I had sent & desired those strings might be delivered to them in Council. Then the Speaker spoke on a Belt & said Brethren the Chief of our young People are gone out a hunting and our Women have put up their Effects & Corn for the maintainance of their Children in the Houses about the French Fort and we know that all Warriors plunder when they go on those Occasions, we desire by this Belt that you will give orders that none of our Houses may be plundered as we are a poor People and cannot supply our Losses of that kind. Then I acquainted them of the Reduction of all Canada and the terms of the Capitulation & when I met their Chiefs I would tell them on what terms the Peace was confirmed between all Nations of Indians and us. Then Major Rogers gave them a string by which he took all the Indians present by the hand & lead them to D'Troit where he would have a Conference with them and deliver them some speeches sent by him to them from General Amherst. At 10 o'Clock we embarked sailed about five Leagues and encamp^d on a Beach.

23^d. We embarked sailed about three Leagues and an half to Ceeder point where is a large Bay, here was a large encampment of Indians Wayondotts and Ottawas who insisted on our staying there that day as it was raining and a large Bay to cross which Major Rogers agreed to.

24th. We set of at Eight o'Clock across the Bay in which is an Island the day was so foggy that the Drum was obliged to beat all day to keep the Boats together, this day we went about Eight Leagues. Where we encamped there came to us five Indian familys.

25th. The Indians desired Major Rogers would order the Boats into a Cove as it was likely to be bad Weather & lay

by that day & they would send some men to where their Chiefs were collected to hear News which was agreed to.

26th The Wind blew so hard that we could not put out of the Cove, the Messengers the Indians sent returned and informed us that the French were very angry with the Indian Nations for meeting us and threatned to burn their Towns; that the Commanding Officer would not let us come to D'Troit till he received his Orders from the Governor of Canada and the Capitulation to which we answered the Indians that they might depend on it, that if any damage was done them by the French that we would see the damage repaired.

27th In the Morning a Cannoe with two Interpreters and four French came to our Camp with Letters from Monsieur Balletré. We decamped and came into the mouth of the River where we met the Chief of the Wayondotts, Ottawas & Putawatimes who bid us welcome to their Country and joined us, we went up the River about 6 miles where we met a French Officer who hoisted a Flag of Truce and beat a parley here we encamped on an Island and sent for the French Officer who delivered his Messages.

28th Capt. Campbell was sent of with a Flag of Truce to give M. Balletré his orders to give up the Place soon after we set of up the River and encamped at an Indian Village, at Night Capt. Campbell joined us and informed us that Monsieur Balletré behaved very politely on seeing M. Vadreuils Orders & desired we would proceed the next day and take possession of the Fort & Country.

29th We set of and arrived about twelve o'Clock at the place where we landed and sent and relieved the Garrison.

30th Part of the Militia lay down their Arms and took the Oath of Fidelity.

December 1st The rest of the Militia layed down their Arms and took the Oath of Fidelity.

2^d Lieut Holms was sent of with M. Balletré and the

French Garrison with whom I sent 15 English Prisoners which I got from the Indians.

3^d In the Morning the principal Indians of 3 different Nations came to my Lodgings & made the following Speech on a Belt of Wampum.

BRETHREN

You have now taken possession of this Country, While the French lived here they kept a smith to mend our Guns and Hatchets and a Doctor to attend our People when sick, we expect you will do the same and as no doubt you have something to say to us from the English General and Sir William Johnson we would be glad [to know] how soon you would go on business as this is our hunting season.

Fort D'Troit December 4th 1760. We met the Wayondotts, Putawatimes and Ottawas in the Council House, with several of the principal Men of the Ohio Indians who accompanied his Majestys Forces there when the following speeches were made to them.

BRETHREN CHIEFS & WARRIORS OF THE SEVERAL NATIONS
NOW PRESENT,

You have been made acquainted with the success of his Majestys Arms under the Command of his Excellency General Amherst and the Reduction of all Canada & now you are Eye Witnesses to the surrender of this place agreeable to the Capitulation as I sent you word before the arrival of his Majestys Troops; you see now your Fathers are become British Subjects, you are therefore desired to look on them as such & not to think them a separate People; and as long as you adhere to his Majestys Interest and behave yoursel[ves] well to all his subjects as faithfull allies, you may depend on having a free open Trade with your Brethren the English & be protected by his Majesty King George now your Father & my Master.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

At a Conference held with several Chiefs & Deputys of your several Nations at Pittsburg this Summer, you told me that all our Prisoners which have been taken since the War, yet remaining in your possession were then set at Liberty to return home if they pleased, now I have received by Major Rogers the Commanding Officer here, General Amherst and Sir William Johnson's Orders to demand due performance of your promise & desire that you may forthwith deliver them up as that is the only way you can convince us of your sincerity and future intentions of living in Friendship with all his Majestys Subjects in the several British Colonies in America.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

On Condition of your performance of what has been said to you I by this Belt renew and brighten the Ancient Chain of Friendship between his Majestys Subjects, the Six United Nations and our Brethren of the several Western Nations to the Sun setting and wish it may continue as long as the Sun and Moon give light.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

As my orders are to return to Pittsburg I now recommend Capt. Campbel to you as he is appointed by his Majesty's Commander in Chief to be Governour of this place, with him you must transact the publick business and you may depend he will do you all the service in his power and see that justice is done you in Trade.

A BELT.

BRETHREN CHIEFS AND WARRIORS

As the Ancient Friendship that long subsisted between our Ancestors is now renewed I was[h?] the Blood of the Earth, that has been shed since the present War, that you

may smell the sweet scent of the Springing Herbs & bury the War Hatchet in the Bottomless Pitt.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

I know your Warriors have all a martial spirit & must be employed at War & if they want diversion after the fatigue of hunting there is your natural Enemies the Cherookees with whom you have been long at War, there your Warriors will find diversion & there they may go, they have no other place to go, as all Nations else are become the subjects of great Britain.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

As I command this Garrison for his Majesty King George I must acquaint you that all the Settlers living in this Country are my Master's subjects therefore I take this opportunity to desire you our Brethren of the several Nations not to take any of their Effects from them by force, nor kill or steal any of their Cattle, as I shall look on any insult of that kind as if done to me, as they are under my protection. I desire you will encourage your young Men to hunt and bring their Meat to me for which they shall be paid in Powder and Lead.

A BELT.

Major Rogers acquainted the Indians that he was going to Misselemaknach to relieve that Garrison and desired some of their young Men to go with him, whom he would pay for their Services and that he was sending an Officer to St Josephs and the Waweoughtannes to relieve their Post & bring of the French Garrisons & desired they would send some of their young Men with him who should likewise be paid for their services.

A BELT.

Then we acquainted them by a string that as they had requested a Smith to mend their Guns as usual & the Doctor to attend their sick that it was granted till the Generals pleasure was known.

A STRING.

December the 4th A Principal Man of the Wayondotts spoke and said Brethren we have heard and considered what you said to us yesterday and are met this day to return you an answer agreeable to our promise.

The Wayondott Speaker addressed his speech to Major Rogers, Capt Campbell and myself.

BRETHREN

We have heard what you said to us yesterday, we are like a lost People, as we have lost many of our principal Men, & we hope you will excuse us if we should make any Mistakes, but we assure you our Hearts are good towards our Brethren the English when your General and Sir William Johnson took all Canada they ordered you to send us Word, we received your Messages & we see, by your removing the French in the manner you have from here, that what you said to us by your Messengers is true. Brethren be it so, and continue as you have begun for the good of us all. All the Indians in this Country are Allies to each other and as one People, what you have said to us is very agreeable & we hope you will continue to strengthen the Ancient Chain of Friendship.

A BELT.

You desired us yesterday to perform our promise & deliver up your Prisoners, it is very true we did promise to deliver them up, and have since delivered up many, what would you have us do there is very few here at present they are all yours & you shall have them as soon as possible

tho' we do not choose to force them that have a mind to live with us.

A. BELT.

BRETHREN

Yesterday you renewed and brightened the Ancient Chain of Friendship between our Ancestors the Six Nations & you. Brethren I am glad to hear that you our Brethren the English and the Six Nations have renewed and strengthened the Ancient Chain of Friendship subsisting between us, & we assure you that if ever it be broke it will be on your side, and it is in your power as you are an able People to preserve it, for while this Friendship is preserved we shall be a strong Body of People, and do not let a small matter make a difference between us.

A. BELT.

BRETHREN

Yesterday you desired us to be strong and preserve the Chain of Friendship free from rust, Brethren look on this Friendship Belt where we have the Six Nations and you by the hand; this Belt was delivered us by our Brethren the English & Six Nations when first you came over the great Water, that we might go & pass to Trade where we pleased & you likewise with us, this Belt we preserve that our Children unborn may know.

BRETHREN

We heard what you said yesterday it was all good but we expected two things more, first that you would have put it out of the power of the Evil Spirit to hurt the Chain of Friendship, and secondly that you would have settled the prices of goods that we might have them cheaper from you than we had from the French as you have often told us. Brethren you have renewed the Old Friendship yesterday, the Ancient Chain is now become bright, it is new to our young Men, and Brethren we now take a faster hold

of it than ever we had & hope it may be preserved free from rust to our posterity.

A BELT 9 Rows.

BRETHREN

This Belt is from our Warriors in behalf of our Women & Children and they desire of us to request of you to be strong & see that they have goods cheap from your Traders & not be oppressed as they have been by the French.

A BELT 7 Rows.

BRETHREN

Shewing two Medals those we had from you as a token that we might remember our Friendship whenever we should meet in the Woods and smoke under the Tree of Peace, we preserved your token and hope you remember your promise, it was then said that this Country was given by God to the Indians & that you would preserve it for our joint use where we first met under a shade as there were no Houses in those times.

The same speaker addressing himself to the six Nations.

BRETHREN

I am very glad to hear what our Brethren the English have said to us, and I now send this string by you, and take the Chiefs of the six Nations by the hand to come here to Council next spring.

BROTHER ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO ME

You have been employed by the King and Sir William Johnson amongst many Nations of Indians in settling this Peace, now you are sent here where our Council fire is, the Smoke of which ascends to the Skies you are going away and all Nations to the Sun sitting are to meet here to see their Brethren the English in possession of this place and we desire that you may stay here till that Council, that you may take your Master Word of what is to be transacted here.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

By this String we request you will consider it will be difficult for us to understand each other. It would be agreeable to us if you would continue our old Interpreter as he understands our Language well.

A STRING.

December the 5th the Principal Man of the Putawatimes spoke

BRETHREN

Yesterday our Uncles the Six Nations spoke to you for us all; do not be surprised at it, they have more understanding in Council affairs than us, we have employed them to speak for us all, and Confirm what they have said by this Belt.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

Be strong and bring large quantities of goods to supply us & we will bring all our Furs to this place. We are glad you acquainted us that the Inhabitants of French here are become English subjects, we shall look on them as such for the future and treat them as our Brethren.

A BELT.

BRETHREN

Our Uncles gave us this String of Wampum and desired us to be strong and hunt for you, we should be glad you would fix the price to be given for a Deer of Meat, then insisted strongly that the six Nation Deputys should press their Chiefs to attend the General meeting to be held here in the spring by a Belt.

The principal Man of the Ottawas got up and made two speeches to the same purport as above.

Then I made them the following speech.

BRETHREN

I return you thanks for the several affectionate speeches you made us yesterday. To day it is agreed that he be continued till General Amherst and Sir William Johnson's pleasure be known ; you likewise desired I might stay here till your General Meeting in the Spring, I am not my own Master so you must excuse me till I receive further Orders.

A BELT.

Then the Present of Goods was delivered to each Nation in his Majestys Name, for which they returned their hearty thanks.

Then Major Rogers to [sic] spoke to them.

BRETHREN

I return you thanks for your readiness in joining his Majestys Troops under my Command, on my way here, as I soon set out to execute my orders and relieve the Garrison of Misselemakinach I take this opportunity of taking my leave of you, and you may be assured I will acquaint General Amhurst and Sir William Johnson of the kind reception I have met with amongst your Nations and recommend your services.

A BELT.

Then the Council fire was covered up & the Conference ended.

7th Mr Butler of the Rangers set of with an officer & party to relieve the Garrison at the Milineys with whom I sent an Interpreter and gave him Wampum and such other things as was necessary for his Journey and Instructions in what manner to speak to the Indians in those parts.

The 8th Major Rogers set of for Misselemachinack with whom I sent Cap^t Montour and four Indians who were well acquainted with the Country and the Indian Nations that Inhabit it.

The 9th & 10th Capt Campble assembled all the Inhabitants and read the Act of Parliament to them & settled matters with them to his satisfaction, they agreeing to y^e billiting of Troops and furnishing fire Wood & Provisions for the Garrison, and indeed every thing in their power for his Majestys service.

The 11th In the Evening Capt. Campble finished his Letters when I set off leaving him what Wampum, Silver Truck & Goods I had for the Indian service.

The 16th We came to the little Lake called Sandusky which we found froze over so as not to be passable for some days.

The 22^d We crossed the little Lake on the Ice which is about 6 Miles over to an Indian Village where we found our Horses which we sent from D'Troit, there were but five Indians at home all the rest being gone a hunting.

23^d We came to Chenunda an Indian Village 6 miles from Sandusky.

24th We stayed to hunt up some Horses.

25th We came to the Principal Mans hunting Cabin about 16 miles from Chenunda level Road and clear Woods, several Savannahs.

26th We came to Mohicken Village, this day, we crossed several small Creeks all branches of Muskingum, level Road, pretty clear Woods about 30 Miles, the Indians were all out a hunting except one family.

27th We halted, it rained all day.

28th We set of, it snowed all day & come to another branch of Muskingum about 9 Miles good Road where we stayed the 29th for a Cannoe to put us over, the Creek being very high.

30th We set of and came to another branch of Muskingum about 11 Miles and the 31st we fell a Tree over the Creek and carryed over our Baggage and encamped about one Mile up a Run.

January the 1st We travelled about 16 Miles clear woods & level Road to a place called the Sugar Cabins.

2^d We came about 12 Miles to the Beavers Town clear Woods and good Road.

3^d Crossed Muskingum Creek and encamped in a fine bottom on this side the Creek.

4th Set of and travelled about 20 Miles up a branch of Muskingum good Road.

5th Travelled about 18 Miles and crossed a branch of little Beaver Creek clear Woods & good Road.

6th Travelled about Eighteen Miles and crossed two Branches of little Beaver Creek good Road & Clear Woods.

7th Crossed the mouth of big Beaver Creek at an Indian Village and came to Pittsburg about 25 Miles good Road & Clear Woods.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

(Indorsed. REC^d FEB^{ry} Y^r 1st)

FORT PITT 14th January 1761.

SIR

I am to acknowledge your Letter of the 25th December. In consequence of which I have wrote to the Commanding Officer of the Royal Welch Volunteers to desire (if he had no orders from you to the contrary) he would relieve the Posts at Juniatta, Bedford Stoney Creek and Ligonier with the same number of officers and men from his Corps as he would find at those Posts, and order the R. A. to return to this Fort, and the Virginians to march to Winchester.

Captain Mather, Lieut. Bailie & 40 R. F. of the R. A. R. are to march the 17th to relieve Venango and Lieut. Gay with 1 Serj. 1 Dr and 16 R. F. to relieve Le Boeuf.

The Hire of Pack Horses being very expensive, I have

bought sixteen Horses and Sadles. The whole for Seventy Pounds Currency, about what the hires would amount to for one Trip: They are to carry Flour from Venango to Le Boeuf, and will secure the Subsistence of that Post.

I had this day a Letter from Presqu'Isle, where all is well, and the last Bullocks arrived. The upper Ports are now abundantly supplied with meat, and have flour till May, except Le Boeuf where I can now send enough.

Mr. Croghan is arrived, and lefft Detroit well supplied till the Spring, when they must have meat & flour for which they can send to Niagara, till the Vessell is built.

As soon as I can get a few strong Horses, I will send some ammunion to Detroit: The consumption they have already made of it, is far beyond my expectation, The Rangers are a destructive People.

Capt. Mather will have £100 to pay the Indians for the Venaison, they have delivered in the Kings Store at Venango, & I authorize him to raise the price if necessary: I recommand to try the Sleighs, which would do exceeding well between Le Boeuf and Presqu'Isle. It is with so much difficulty that we can get money here, that when a proper opportunity offers, I would beg to have some sent up, as well as an assistant 2, M. G. if you continue them.

I inclose the List of Naval Stores wanted for the construction of a Decked Vessell on Lake Erie. If they cannot be had from Oswego, any Shipbuilders at New York or Philad^a. can provide them.

Capt. Atlee & young Clapham are returned from Detroit. The men who deserted from them after their misfortune, robbed them of every thing, and sold to the Indians the Barrils of Provisions they had saved. — The Flatt is not much hurt, and Capt. White of the Rangers took back to Niagara the little Boat.

I must beg leave Sir to trouble you with some Regi-mental affairs; Lieut. Ralfe's father died two years ago, and the guardians of the three children he lefft, two of

which are under age give him no account of the estate, which obliges him to go to England to settle with them and as he has purchased his Lieutenancy, He writes me to obtain leave for him to sell out: But as he is very useful to the Battⁿ for recruiting, If it was possible to obtain him leave to go home without resigning, I should be glad to keep him, as he likes the Service, & would not quit on any account if he was not forced to do it.

Lieut. Bassett Engineer would also sell his Lieut^{cy} if he could obtain leave as he does no duty in the Battⁿ. I wish he would be indulged in it, In case his request could be granted, I beg you would be so good to send me the form of a Resignation which I have not here.

It was with great reluctance I discharged the men whose time was expired, after what I wrote you on that subject. But I found myself obliged to do it for several Reasons: most of them had a Right the year before, and I had prevailed on them to make the last Campaign, upon positive assurance that they should have their discharges.

They had heard that those of the 4th Battⁿ had got them, and the unhappy Divisions and animositys I found here made it impossible for me to keep them any longer. If I have been wrong I hope Sir you will forgive me, as I acted to the best of my Judgment.

You will remember that when I marched to Presqu'Isle you were pleased to authorize me to promise in your name that the men who were intitled to their discharges should have them after the Campaign, and I wish that those at Niagara who are in the case could be discharged, to keep up the Confidence the men always had in me.

Before I had your Letter I had signed a discharge for Hahn, and desired Bentineck to inclosed it with his Pay to B. M. Gates, I am very sorry of what happened to him and of that multiplicity of Punishments inflicted as I am Informed unknown to you, during the Campaign, and which must ruin any Corps; Since I joined them, I have not been yet under the necessity of punishing one man.

Near one half of the garrison are seized with an epidemical Cold, and an appearance of Pleurizy, but it does not prove dangerous. The weather having been extraordinary cold, with sudden variations, may be the cause of that general distemper.

As soon as the first Division of Vaughans' appears, the Virginians will march to Winchester leaving garrisons at Fort Burd & Cumberland.

I have the Honour to be with great Respect
Sir

Your most obedient &
most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

FROM CAP. CAMPBELL.

(REC. JAN^{ry} y^e 18th 1761.)

Major Rogers and the Detachment under his command got safe to this Place the 29th of Novembr, only with the loss of one man of my Detachment that fell overboard, and some Batteaux drove ashore with the loss of some ammunition, I reckon that great luck at this season of the year, the Lake being soe very bad and we soe litle acquainted with the navigation of it.

We meet some of the principal People of the Iawa Nation two days march from Presque Isle who were coming to make Peace with us, they joined our suite, and seemed highly pleased with what we told them, and when we came to the end of the Lake we were meet by a Deputation from the Wyandot Nation in behalf of the other Nations Setled about Detroit, and to know if what Capt. Crochan Messengers told them was true, and seemed highly

pleased with what was told them, but it was unlucky for us as it added to the consumption of Provisions.

M^r Belletre seemed not to give credit to the reports he had of Detroit being included in the Capitulation but took all Precautions, but when I brought him the Marquis Vaudruil Letter from Major Rogers I must doe him y^e Justice to say that he did every Thing with a very good grace, but we found his Magazines quite empty only a few Barrels of Powder and some other things. I refer you to Major Rogers Return of them, he has this evening given me over the Command of Fort, soe that I shall be able to give a full account of every Thing in my nixt.

The Fort surpasses our expectations it is the best Stockade I have seen, and in good Repair, but the Kings houses are some in very bad order.

Major Rogers has made the Inhabitants lay down their Arms, and administered the oath of Allegiance it will be absolutely necessary to give at least to every Family at a Distance from the Fort a Peice of Arms to defend them from the Indians who would be apt to insult when they know they are without arms. I shall doe in that what I think best for the safety of y^e Inhabitants consistent with the good of the service.

Major Rogers is preparing to take off the Troops from the Ports, it will be impossible to send any of ours to garrison these Ports as we have noe Provisions to send with them, and indeed it would at any rate be difficult at this season of the year, Every Body here that know the Country think it impossible for Major Rogers himself to goe to Mackilemackinac [sic] Even with a small Detachment to bring off the Troops.

We had great disappointment with Regard to Provisions we are now almost done what was brought with us from Presque Isle, We are still in hopes of the 5 Batteaux from Niagara there is noe more dependance on the Lake, — No Body will undertake to goe to Niagara at this season.

It was advisable to send M^r Belletre and the Prisoners to Pittsburg as the only way practicable. The sending the Bullocks by land was a very lucky scheme, it has done us great service, without that we should not have had Provisions to get here.

M^r Navarre who acted as Sub-Intendant, whom we are oblidge to continue in that office or to act as a Magistrate assures me he will be able to support my Detachment for the most part of the Winter, I shall be able to inform more fully of that in my nixt, and if we can spare some ammunition to the Indians they would serve us in meat some part of the time I shall be better Judge of that in a few days.

We are to hold the India(n) Treaty after tomorrow they seem very willing to give up their Prisoners and bring in dayly to us.

I believe we can find People that will undertake to goe Pittsburgh, but I doe not know if it would answer to bring Pork on Horseback, at such a distance, This has been formerly a very plentiful Place but at present the Inhabitants are in great distress for want of all Necessarys, I shall be able to give a fuller account by Capt. Crochan.

I am with the greatest Respect

Your most obedient humble Servant,

DONALD CAMPBELL.

DETROIT, Nov^r 2^d 1760.

No account of Poor Duplesis.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

(REC^d JAN^y 18th 1761)

FORT PITT 20th December 1760.

SIR

Your last of the 7th arrived last night. This is the fifth Letter I write you since I am here, an Importunity which I hope you will forgive in the Circumstances.

I was happy that you left it to me to detain the Virginians, if absolutely necessary, till the first Division of Vaughan's arrives, for I could not dispense with them at present. But they will go down as soon as possible.

We have near 30 Batteaux up the Alleghany and Monongahela, two Escorts with Beeves not return'd and with all our little Posts, artificers, sick &c. I have this day only 154 men for duty in the Garrison.

The Gate remains open yet, and the frost prevents our clearing even that Part of the Ditch, tho' often attempted: not a stick of wood in the Place, nor any cut in the woods, and the Alleghany so full of ice that unless we have a Thaw, it must be frozen over in a day or two and finally our mainspring Clapham laid down with the gravell, and not able to stir.

There was indeed little done since you left this; The upper Posts having been totally neglected, I was obliged to force up every thing when the Season makes it impracticable. The first Division of our Batteaux proceeded with light loads the 11th from Venango to le Boeuf, and am afraid will be frozen before they can get there: I have given Instructions to Major Stewart in that case to secure in the best manner the Provisions at Custologa's Town or some of the scattered Mingo Cabins, hawl the Batteaux above the Reach of any freshes, and leaving three Soldiers to take care of the whole send down the rest here, where all Batteau men shall be discharged immediately: If that Convoy fails the small garrison of Le Boeuf is ordered to be reduced to 14 men having no flour for more.

The second Division of Batteaux was 3 days ago within 12 miles of Venango, & I hope they got there before the frost, so that Post will be well supplied and early in the spring be able to push Provisions forward.

I wrote the 13th to Major Stewart to come down as soon as the last Batteaux arrived. I must do him the Justice that it is owing to his activity and prudent measures that

the two advanced Posts have got what little Provisions they have. I was happy to have him there, for, People who have any head at all, and can act of themselves according to times & circumstances are not very common here: The whole Burthen rests upon the Commanding officer, while he is surrounded by a crowd of unconcerned spectators.

Captain Miles and the Pensilvanians arrived yesterday by Water from the upper Posts, having been relieved by the Virginians as mentioned in a former letter: They left Presqu'Isle the 12th and had then no News from Niagara, and the two Batteaux I had sent the 19th Nov^r were not returned: I inclose the Returns of their Provisions & Stores; I have sent this morning your last orders to Presqu'Isle not to detain more than the 60 R. A. ordered first, to garrison with them that Post & Le Boeuf, and send down all the Virginians, and in case that Detachment from Niagara did not come, that the present garrisons would be relieved from hence as soon as possible.

I have also reduced Venango to 40 men: This is the worst time in the year to march Troops thro' that Country the Creeks being high and half frozen: at the end of January the weather will be more settled, and tho' I cannot answer that those Posts can be relieved then, it shall be attempted as soon as there is any probability of success.

I had a confuse account from one *Haram* a drunk Indian, that he had seen Major Rogers the 22^d Nov^r at *two days* distance from Detroit, and had carried to him a Letter from young Clapham who had got to that Place, with all his men, having been cast on shore, where the large Boat was lost, and only a few Barrells Provisions saved: I expect daily to hear from them.

As our Barraks can not contain all this new Regiment, so many rooms being taken up for salting, and stores of different kinds, besides the Casemattes: If not too late I would propose to you to drop one company of Vaughan's at Bedford and another at Ligonier, which would relieve

Juniatta & Stoney Creek, and if you thought it of any service leave a few men at Littleton, Loudoun, Shippensburgh and Carlisle, to carry Letters. This by way of Quarters, and not Detachments. Little work can be done here this Winter, they could join us in the Spring, and save the carriage of so much Provisions. This will not hinder me from relieving those Posts agreeable to your orders, when the Virginians go down.

I have wrote fully to Mr. Hoops concerning the Flour in Bulk here which cannot be all used this Winter, and is likely to be damaged if not packed up in Barrills: We want about 500 Barrills more for the Beef in bulk, besides the hogs expected: Swearingen having left only 370 new Barrills made.

The few Coopers we have in the garrison will make them before April; If the Flour is to be put in Barrills, some Coopers must be sent.

The Cloathing for the Battⁿ is arrived at New York. If we are to remain where we are, I would think it best to send the whole in the Spring to Niagara, and after the 4 Companies there are served, send the remainder to Presqu' Isle for Detroit & Fort Pitt.

General Amherst having been pleased to inform me that there is an Ensigncy to purchase in the Battⁿ by the preferment of Lieu^t Ridge to a Company in the 4th. I have taken that opportunity to recommend little Hubbard If you have no objection to him, and General Amherst would give him the preference, I should be obliged to you to let him have his Commission & orders at Philadelphia to save time; he could join us till the Communication is opened to Niagara: I was obliged to object to a man recommended to the Gen^l by Major Walters, our Sergeant Major, who is a Taylor, and was received & employed in the Battⁿ as such, and would have been very disagreeable to our officers: He has never mentioned any thing to me of that vacancy.

The great Ferment I found among the Troops subsided

immediately, and there is a compleat harmony at present. The satisfaction you are pleased to express of my endeavours to execute your orders is extremely kind, and an ample compensation for the anxieties I have had.

Our dependency upon Niagara for naval stores having failed totally, and the Provisions being only arrived there in the beginning of October, when the Season for the Lake was over have drawn upon us that Chain of Losses, miscarriages and disapointments of which I see not the end yet: Had my Conduct in that unfortunate Department been judged of upon the appearances, I could expect nothing but blame. The loss of the large Flatt and the provisions has given me much uneasiness: Tho' you may judge that no danger was expected, since the man who built her, and had been before to Niagara, thought her fit for the Purpose and chose to navigate her himself.

I have kept three of the best Shipwrights, who have work here to the beginning of february, when they are to go to Presqu'Isle to prepare the Timber for a decked Vessel; as soon as Captain Clapham is better I will send you the List of the materials wanted, which may be sent I think sooner and as cheap this way as by Niagara.

The Returns shall be sent the 24th of each month.

I am with great Respect & gratitude

Sir

Your most obedient

& most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

P.S. After writing the above I heard that Delawar George was arrived. He confirms the above Report of Haram, & says he was lefft behind, hunting his Horse: that the Bullocks drove well, & that several Indian Chiefs from Detroit had met Croghan, and given good talks: and that three of the Batteaux had been lost. People saved;

Clapham, Atlee, & their men at Detroit: Four of the deserters who left the Party going to Niagara with Ensign Erwin of the Pensilvani^{as} were taken up at Ligonier, and are here in Irons, Mutiny & Desertion their Crime.

Those who quitted the Party escorting Bullocks have been furnished, the Circumstances being not so black as the others, I keep one of the last Prisoner, being by the deposition of one of our Soldiers a Deserter of your Regiment. His name as he gives it *Peter Shommar*, but denies the Charge.

No Sheriff is come yet to take Geo: Kerr confined by your orders for forgery. The man harrasses me by Letters and Petitions to be delivered up to the Civil Law. I shall propose to Duncastle to send him to Bedford where there can be no difficulty to send a Sheriff.

H. BOUQUET.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 25th Jany. 1761.

SIR,

The bearer M^r Charles Grant was a Volunteer in Col. Montgomery's Regiment, and had the misfortune to be taken by the Indians in the Campaign of 1758. Having made his Escape, he came here last month, and hath been sick ever since, as he desired me to inform you of his case I take the liberty to do it.

I have the honour to be wth

great Respect

Sir

Your most Obed^t and

most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 26th January 1761.

SIR,

The general orders inclosed in your letter of the 2^d have been given out to this garrison, and shall be forwarded to the advanced Posts.

The last Division of Col. Vaughen's arrived here yesterday having released the Ports on the Communication below. Major Stewart with the Detachment of Virg^a. Troops is marched for Winchester, by Bedford & Cumberland.

I had the honour to inform you that there was here four Prisoners of the Pensilv^a. Troops, who deserted from the last Party I sent from Presqu'Isle to Niagara, I must beg the favour of your orders thereupon.

One of Mr. Belestre's Soldiers who deserted from him was brought here by Major Rogers, and being lame lefft at this Place. He is a German & pretends to know where the French have buried & sunk in the River some Iron Guns; when the frost is out of the ground we shall dig for them.

Inclosed are the monthly Returns, you will please to observe that the first Battⁿ R. A. R. which was mustered here in the beginning of last Campaign was then 807 men, and is now 766: Therefore the Deficiency including Dead, Deserted, & discharged is only 41. If you would permit me Sir, to recruit I could readily replace those men at my own expence in the room of those I have discharged: and for the future I shall discharge none without the General's orders; tho' there are many yet intituled to it, having not had 150 Draffts, and the rest inlisted for three and four years.

Major Rogers & Mr. Croghan, think that several Parties of Indians will go to War against the Cherokee in the

Spring, and will call here for ammunition; you will be so good to let me know, if they are to be allowed any?

Several Traders prepare themselves to carry goods to Detroit. I suppose that there is no Difficulty in granting them passes.

The number of sick is considerably diminished.

I am with great Respect Sir, Your

Most Obedient and most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 24th February 1761.

SIR,

Inclosed are the monthly Returns of this Port. The Garrisons of Venango & Le Boeuf are relieved, & all the Virginians gone down.

The Detachment R. A. was ten days in going to Venango, & twelve days from Venango to Le Boeuf detained by the Creeks, they had several men frost bit.

This last Post is now supplied with flour, meat & salt to the Spring, & I hope that next month the River will be open for Batteaux from Venango.

All was well at Presqu'Isle the 24th January. I have sent twelve kegs Powder to Detroit & two Traders with Indian Goods.

Mr. Artel is arrived sick from the Shawanese with only six of his men; The whole was 18. Some have been left sick, others deserted on their march. They are all Militia & Canadians, as soon as the officer is able to go I shall send them down.

Lieut. Butler of the Rangers keeps the Post of Miamis, where he has Provisions to the Spring. He has sent here a French Trader for Merchandises: The Savages in those

Parts being destitute of all kinds of necessaries, I have engaged Trent & some other Suttlers to trust him with a Cargo, & he is to set out in a few days down the Ohio.

The inclosed is a Petition of M^r Baby a French Trader come with Major Rogers from Detroit. He will not take the oath of allegiance, & begs leave to go back to Detroit, Michillimakenac and Montreal, to recover his debts, collect his Effects, and pass to France: As he is of a family noted for their Influence among Indians, I cannot let him go from hence till you will please to give me your orders.

The frost has done some hurt to the sod work which we are repairing.

The advanced Posts being now supplied I would be much obliged to you Sir, to permit me to go for a few days to Philadelphia, for my private affairs: I would not trouble you on that account if it was not of great consequence to me.

I have the honour to be with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient & most Humble Servant

HENRY BOQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 18th March, 1761.

SIR,

The 11th Instant I had the honour of your Letters of the 26th January & 12th February, by M^r Hoops who came wth M^r Read to take an actual Survey of the Provisions in Store, an account of which will be transmitted to you in my next.

I received yesterday by Express Boyl your Letter of the 27th February in consequence of which, Coll. Vaughan's Detachment will march tomorrow for Philad^a as they had

no men detached beyond this Post, I am only to relieve those on the Communication on this side Bedford for which I have ordered—

1 Serj. &	6 Private R. A. R.	at Bushy Run
Lieut. Blaine, 1 S. 2 C. 1 D. 18	“ “ “ “	at Ligonier
1 C.	6 “ “ “	at Stoney Creek
1 Sub. 2 Serj 3 C. 1 D. 30	Private	

Coll. Vaughan will leave an officer & 20 at Bedford and a Corporal and six at Juniatta.

Having received some days ago 34 fat oxen from Virg^a. weighing upwards of 450^{lb} each I send this day twenty five of them to Detroit with a Serjeant and ten men R. A. & two Indians for guides. This is the last supply I shall be able to forward by land or Water, till reinforced ; and I advise Capt. Campbell to send early to Niagara for Provisions, and engage some Canadians to come here for Cattle, giving me timely notice to have them ready.

Being a little hurried at present by the march of the Roy^l Welsh, and the alterations occasioned thereby, I beg leave to differ till tomorrow to answer your former Letters, giving this to Coll. Vaughan who sets off today.

I shall only inclose you a Court of Inquiry upon M^r Babby & two Traders at this Place and as it contains all the Circumstances of the Facts, I will not enlarge upon it ; But think necessary to inform you, that most of the Indian Traders here take all possible methods to evade the orders given for the proper Regulation of the Trade, & that an Example appears necessary to convince them of their dependency.

The Case of Thomson's Clerk seems more open to Indulgence than Blaine's who disobeyed positive orders.

The Goods seized shall remain in the King's Stores, till you are pleased to dispose of them.

We are in great want of Shoes, none to be had at this Place.

I wrote two months ago to M^r Sinclair for Garden Seeds for all the Posts, & have received none yet.

I am with great Respect

Sir — Your most obedient

&

most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

I have no Copy of the above Court of Inquiry.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 20th March 1761.

SIR

In my Letter of the 18th by Coll. Vaughan I informed you of the march of his Detachments for Philadelphia, that I should relieve all his Posts, except Bedford & Juniatta & that I had sent 25 oxen to Detroit.

I shall now give myself the honour to answer your former Letters.

provisions. M^r Hoops & M^r Read have taken a Survey of the Provisions in store at this Post as per Inclosed Returns. They did not weigh again the flour in Bulk in one of the Barrack Rooms, & in the Caze matte [sic] as they are in the same condition as when weighed before.

The small quantity of damaged flour was condemned. The meat in Bulk weighed.

In this article we find a deficiency of 41.833^{lb} arising from an error in the Reference of the Returns of the 30th Nov^r to that of the 23^d before I came here, & from Wastage in Salting & Issuings—The Beef is thereby reduced to 112.911^{lb}.

Meat and flour are in good order, having always issued first what was more likely to be damaged.

We shall have about 400 new Barrills made to pack up the Pork, & some lefft for the flour, all the Coopers have been & will continued employed, and as soon as the Baggs come up we shall follow the good method you recommend for preserving the flour.

The dampness of the Caze matte has made a crust on the top of the flour, which I think will keep the rest very dry.

Mr. Hoops & Read are gone to Red Stone Creek, where Mr. Christie has sent his son. They are to receive all the flour fit for use at that Post. But M^r Christie expected they would also give him Receipts for what he has at the Mouth of Cheat River (50 miles above) which cannot be done till delivered & inspected at Red Stone, agreeable to Contract.

The Contract I made with M^r Christie by order of General Stanwix is in the hands of M^r Plumsted & was only for 50,000^{lb} to be delivered the first of July 1760 *at Fort Burd*, and as it was not delivered at that time, The Contract becomes void, and it is an indulgence in you to receive his flour afterwards. I know nothing of any other Contract in Virg^a what Papers I had for Contracts or accounts not settled were all delivered to Mess^{rs} Plumsted & Franks from whom I have Receipts for the same.

M^r Hoops and Read have examined M^r Stodderts' account, and think they can settle it at Red Stone, where the succession of several Command^s officers & Clerks hath occasioned great Confusion in the Stores. Stoddert is gone with them, & they are to report to you the Conclusion.

There is a sufficient quantity of meat, salt, & flour at Upper P Venango to support Le Boeuf, & Presqu'Isle, But in our present weak state, I can do nothing more for Detroit.

As in the present Circumstances I cannot expect the honour to see you this Campaign, I will take the liberty to transmit my Remarks upon the water and Land Carriage above.

Beef River would be one of the best Communications if cleared of the Loggs & Trees ; But they are so intangled & heaped in some narrow Places, & the Channel so deep there, that it would require a great number of hands to do it effectually, as it continues from Place to Place for about 50 miles, And unless the Trees hanging in the water on both sides are cut down, They will be daily falling in & form new obstructions ; which makes me think that the best way for this year will be to open only the Beaver dams, & a narrow channel for one Batteau ; The danger being greater in coming down as by the rapidity of the Current the Batteaux cannot be so easily managed, nor the Logs under Water avoided as in going up.

As to the Carrying Place, The french had two Waggon Roads, The old one pretty hilly, 15 miles long which they intended to abandon, the Bridges being all to Pieces ; The other more level and three miles shorter is cleared of Trees, but full of brush grown since, and wants to be bridged almost the whole way a very great Work if well done, & good for nothing if executed carelessly.

I think that 50 men could in two months repair the old Road so as to make it passable for Waggon in Summer, and this would be only a shiftt, and to be done again every year.

As Horses must be stationed at Le Boeuf for the Land Carriage to Presqu'Isle, It would be an advantage to rebuild in the large meadows two miles on this side Le Boeuf the Barn burnt by the French, & the same in the Peninsula, to gather Hay to winter the Cattle necessary for the Garrisons, & all the Horses employed in the service.

Two intelligent Farmers would raise at those Places Horses, Cattle, Corn, & oats, with the assistance of some men of the garrisons ; which could give no just Jealousie to the Indians, if we build upon the Ruins of French Settlements, but this I suppose will be postponed till we have a Peace.

I should be sorry if the Vessell upon Lake Erie was laid aside, as tho' I am no Judge, I imagine it would do very well in Summer, & lay safely in the fall & winters in the Harbour at Presqu'Isle. The Batteaux carry little are slow, and as they must be hawled up when it blows, & the Provisions taken out, require a number of hands, & the Barrills constantly exposed to the Water & Sun.

Vessell.

Having daily applications from M^r Croghan for Presents to Indians, which I cannot comply with, I desired he would write himself to you & Sir William for orders: and transmit what Intelligence he has concerning some Indian Party gone to War against the Cherokee, which ending commonly in a scalp are to little Purpose.

Indians.

I mentioned to you in the beginning of last Campaign, that several Idle People from Virg^a & many land made it a practice to hunt along the Mononghehela, which gives umbrage to the Indians. Their Scheme seems to be to reconnoitre the Land & I am told that several of those pretended Hunters intend to settle above & below Red Stone Creek. I have refused several applications made to me for leave to settle, But it cannot be prevented, without a Proclamation in the three Provinces to forbid hunting or Settling beyond the Allegheny. The Importation of Rum to this Post is also a pernicious branch of Trade, tho' unless the Prohibition was general in the Continent, it cannot well be suppressed here.

This Place is Particularly infested with a number of Inhabitants the scum of the Neighbouring Provinces, who have no visible means to live, except a Licence, I think it of bad consequence for the garrison, and I could wish the number of Traders was limited & obliged to give security for their Behaviour. A Dozen would be more than sufficient to drive the trade & supply the Garrison.

I hope Sir, that the Monthly Returns I have transmitted regularly were in the form you desire, Every Corps being Separate.

Returns

The particular one you mention, was a Garrison Return for my own use, & the *absent without leave* eight Deserters, returned as such in the Monthly Return. By the inclosed you will see the disposition made of the remainder of our Men :

Tho' we have fair Weather now, The frost is not yet out of the ground, & the People who have been here two or three Winters before say that the frost never lasted so long & so constantly.

We have been obliged to drum out of the Regiment the same Robinson forgiven by you, and twice before for Desertion, He had made a Plott to desert by which we have lost a Granadier, that fine Company is ruined.

I have got rid of the Pensilv^a Deserters.

I am much obliged to you Sir for the favour obtained for M^r Bassett, & Lieut. Ralfe, who is very willing to make the Campaign if he can have leave to go home afterwards.

I transmit to you inclosed M^r Bassetts dismissal and as M^r Gorrell & M^r Donald are the two oldest Ensigns who desire to purchase, I beg you will appoint one to succeed, M^r Donald has his money ready here in the hands of the Paymaster, and I do not know if M^r Gorrell has lodged his.

I beg leave to recommand for the purchase of the Colours M^r George Price formerly a Volunteer in the Battⁿ & lately Lieu^t & Adjutant in the Pensilv^a Regiment.

As there is no hopes lefft of Duplessis, His Commission is to be filled: I must take the liberty to lay before you the unfortunate situation of his Mother unacquainted yet with his Loss.

She is a Widow of a very good family in Switzerland and was lefft with a very narrow fortune, which she spent upon the education of her only son; She lives now in London with her Sisters reduced to keep a Boarding School of young Ladies: If any thing could be obtained for her, it would be an act of great humanity.—

In the long List of Officers absent from this Battⁿ is one Lieut. Ryder taken Prisoner in 1758, gone since to England, & from whom I never had a line & do not know if he be dead or alive.

Lieu^t Wilson who had the misfortune to lose an arm at Ticonderoga, writes me every year that he is to be provided for at home, or will resign, But there is no end to it.

I beg your pardon for the immoderate length of this Letter, and am with a profound Respect

Sir —

Your Most Obedient &
Most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON —

The Battoes will all be repaired in a few days the frost having prevented corking before. We are about the bridge, not a man Idle.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM CAPT. CAMPBELL TO COL. BOUQUET.

DETROIT 10th March 1761.

SIR

I have been in hopes of hearing from you some time past, which prevented me sending this Express sooner, as I had an opportunity to write General Amherst twice by Niagara.

You may believe I am impatient to receive further instructions from the General, as several things have happened, that General Monckton could not have foreseen.

You see by the Inclosed Return the healthy State of this garrison. The season has been very favourable to us for

Venison. The Inhabitants continue to supply us with flour and Indian corn and do all I could desire of them for the service. I hope to be able to support the Troops without meddling with their Cattle, which gives them great pleasure. Indeed they seem at present quite happy under our Government.

We shall be in great need of our Cloathing before it can be sent to us.

I do not know if we can trust money by the Indians, I believe we can make a shift without it till a better opportunity offers.

It will be proper to send us some Druggs from the General Hospital, how soon it will be possible. I could not refuse the Inhabitants the Doctor's assistance, who were destitute of every help of that kind.

As to the Indians I have had the good Luck to please them, tho' I have little to give them, and indeed no Orders about them; Our ammunition hold out pretty well.

I am certainly informed that the Shawanese continue to do us all the harm they can. It is by them the Commandant of the Illinois knows all that is done at Fort Pitt. They are invited to retire to the Illinois where there is Part of their Nation Settled.

Be pleased to send my Letter to General Amherst, as soon as possible, There is some thing in it, that is necessary he should know soon.

There is now five months since we know any thing of the World: Send us some Writing Paper &c.

(Signed) DONALD CAMPBELL.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 23^d March 1761.

SIR

Since my last an express brought me two Letters from General Amherst concerning M^r. Hubbard's Commission granted, and some Gratifications made to the Troops [by] a Society at London &c.

I take the opportunity of the same Express to transmit you the monthly Returns. The Post at Le Boeuf has been supplied with 1400^{lb} flour, which will serve the actual Garrison till June: By the last account inclosed Lake Erie is open tho' French Creek was not. We make the best of this fine weather to clear the Ditch & compleat the Draw Bridge.

M^r. Taylor's Horses are arrived & shall be forwarded to Detroit.

To prevent differences with the Indians, I have not permitted any Traders to deal at any other Places but where we have Posts.

I have the honour to be with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient

&

most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

P.S. A Battau goes tomorrow wth flour to Venango.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 28th March 1761.

SIR,

A Wyandott Indian brought yesterday a Packett from Detroit, with Letters for General Amherst, as there was none for you, I enclose Copy of Capt. Campbells Letter to me, with his Return of the Troops having sent none of his Stores & Provisions.

I shall forward some druggs to him by Mr. Taylor's People, till they can be better supplied.

The Indian being at M^r Croghan's Place (where he lives himself) I could not ask any questions of the Lake.

The first Traders who went Six Weeks ago were not arrived. He met the oxen going on very well.

It has not been in my Power yet to put a stop to the villainous Practice of selling Rum to the Indians contrary to orders. The consequences where of have been fatal to them lately. Two Indians & a Squaw having killed one another, & a fourth much wounded.

As there are a good number of Battoes at Detroit, & Oswego, Will it be necessary to build more at Presqu'Isle?

All ours here are now corked and fit for use when we have hands to work them

I have the honour to be with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient & Most Humble

Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

General MONCKTON.

P.S. All the Baggage lefft here by the R. A. is gone down.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

FORT PITT 18.th April 1761

SIR

The Merchants sending this express to Philad^a I take that first opportunity to acknowledge the honour of your Letters of the 5th & 6th Instant, received yesterday by Lieu^t Bentinck, & to inform you that all is well here and at the upper Ports, except Capt. Mather who is so ill that I was obliged to let him come from Venango: That Port remains in good hands, Lieut. Baillie being very exact and attentive to the service.

Since my last I sent him forty Barrells of flour & he has forwarded some to Presqu'Isle, & two Battoes to Le Boeuf. Mr Christie writes that the Lake opened the 20th March, and was full of Ice till the 1st April, when he sent a Batteau to Niagara for Provisions.

Your Letter for Detroit will be forwarded this day by Capt. Callendar: If some oxen could be sent here there is now grass to feed them, till I had an opportunity to forward them to Capt. Campbell. As it is not in my Power to reward the Capacity and good services of Burent, I accept with pleasure Coll. Vaughan's offer of his adjutancy for him & send him to Amboy: But as the Reg^t might have embarked, I must take the Liberty to mention that Coll. Vaughan in his Letter to me hints that Mr Russell expects some money, or part of Pay, conditions which Burent cannot accept having no money, & his pay will hardly be sufficient to maintain him as an officer, & bear the expences of Comission, Regimental &c. Therefore I ordered him to join me again unless he can obtain that favour gratis.

As Bentinck goes down in three days, I shall then have all the other Accounts & Returns ready & answer your Letters more particularly.

In the mean time I beg leave to assure you that your orders & those I received from General Amherst shall be punctually obeid.

I have the honour to be with great Respect
Sir

Your most Obedient and most
hbl. Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO GATES.

(Indorsed, REC^d MAY 11th 1761.)

FORT PITT 22^d April 1761

SIR

In my last by Ch. Boyle were inclosed the Engeneers account's & I have the honour to transmit with this the monthly Returns, and the account & vouchers of all other expenses.

Should there be any article paid improperly, I beg you would please to let me know it, to prevent the like hereafter.

You will see that some Corn was bought of the Indians at 10 Shs. at Venango, & of the Country People at 12 Sh^s per Bushell here: If you think proper to have more at that Price, It may be had, tho' no quantity.

Having no Hands to spare at present, I agreed with People living here to carry Flour in their own Battoes to Venango at 20 Sh^s for each Barrell, besides their Provisions when employed, and they have laded thirty of the forty Barrills mentioned in my last. They are not paid yet: as you are informed of the expence of that Carriage, you will find it rather cheaper than to carry ourselves in the Kings

Battoes, the continual repairs of which are very burthensome.

As Detroit & Presqu'Isle can now be supplied from Niagara we will have little occasion for carriage that way.

The man who keeps a Batteau between this & Red Stone offers to carry for the Crown (when not otherwise employed) at three Shill^{gs} the long hundred: as the flour is safe there, I shall not employ him till I know your Intentions.

The unfortunate Stoddert has been found dead in the Woods, being very weak, after a long sickness, when he set out for Fort Burd, it is supposed the cold killed him, as Indian Peter who found him & brought his little baggage here, perceived no Wounds or blood: I had given his accounts to M^r Hoops to be settled by him at Red Stone: The Ballance due by the deceased was about three Pounds.

I had some days ago a Letter from M^r John Carlyse concerning his Majesty's Stores lefft in his charge at Alexandria, in General Braddocks' Campaign: He said to have applied several times to Gen^l Stanwix to have them taken off his Hands, and had received no answer: The expence of Storage having about consumed the value of the whole he desires to get rid of what remains as per Inclosed Return.

I intimated to M^r Babby the Generals' orders, He wanted to go by Niagara, but as I cannot trust him He is to go by New York, tho' I have taken upon me to allow him to stay a few days to receive & sell his skins now coming up the River

The goods seized shall be restored to the owners who are daily expected here, as they were absent, and had no Part in that Transaction. Their guilty clerks I conceive are alone to suffer, and shall be banished this Place, and their Houses pulled down, Exemple which will refrain (sic) for a time the licentious conduct of some of the Traders.

You will find in this Packett the List of our Inhabitants

with and without Licences, and the vocations of these opposite their names.

As the Country People can go in and out of Town, with^t passing thro' the Fort, I can never be informed of their Increase: That Inconveniency could be partly prevented & the nightly Trade of Rum with Indians a little checked, If a good Fence was carried across the Neck from River to River at the foot of the nearest Hill, with one or two Barriers, and a small guard to report the Passengers: If you have no objection to it, it could be done with little time & expence when we have Hands.

We have only two contracted Shipwrights, honest, assiduous, good Workmen, and the only ones who want no spurring on. The Repairs of Battoes have exceeded all calculation, The Planks between Wind & Water being all split, & obliged to put new ones. They set out for Presqu'Isle to build there a Batteau to carry them, their Tools, & Materials to Detroit with the assistance of two or three men from Presqu'Isle, Ensⁿ Christie has orders to give them the necessary assistance for Timber, Planks &c. & I have informed Capt. Campbell of your orders, & to have Planks & knees ready for them, with Tarr if it can be made there, tho' they carry enough for the present.

Horsey being gone a month ago to build Battoes at Presqu'Isle for Taylor and Cox, He has finished the two new Battoes I had lefft uncorked, which in the mean time are sufficient for the supply of that Port. The officer is directed to depend for the future solely upon Niagara.

If the service should require to draw some men from that Fort, I would beg it might be done by companys, and not Detachments from the four, to prevent confusion in the Returns and Abstracts, and I propose sending the Adjutant there when better informed of our destination, to sett to Rights any difference that might have crept in our Returns, while the communication was stopt.

In consequence of the Generals' orders for the reduction

of our Establishment, we have levelled the five companies here, & compleated the Granadiers to the new Establishment. The Supernumerary Serjeants are returned as privates, and to make up the other sixpence of their Pay, a separate abstract shall be made every muster agreeable to the Instructions.

The men remaining above the establishment being not mentioned in the said orders we shall likewise make a separate abstract for their Pay, not to exceed in our abstracts the present establishm^t: no contingent men shall be drawn for till further orders.

We have few spare arms here and those partly out of repair for want of an Armorer: I directed Lieut Dow to take an account of the spare arms & accoutrements lefft at Philad^a. & Lancaster, & shall have the whole delivered in his Majesty's Stores, and as those lost in action, and by Deserters in this Department were never replaced; I shall account for that deficiency.

There is an article in the General's Instructions, which I do not understand, It is the end of the P.S.

"This order is not to make any alteration in the duty the Drummers do, by the orders I have given."

Which supposes some orders relating to the duty of Drummers which I have not received: As I dont mention it in my Letter to the General, I beg you would favour me with the explanation of it.

I transmitted to Detroit, & by the first opportunity shall send to Niagara the above Instructions.

In the Returns of the Battⁿ. I have taken notice only of such alterations of the officers as the General mentioned in his Letters to me and none of Ridge, Ourry &c. till I know how the succession is settled.

As to the Lands occupied upon the Mononghahela, I sent your orders to Serjeant M^cDonald to drive those People off, as that man is Intelligent & carefull, & keeps the Stores in good order, he deserves to be recomanded to you for some small allow^{ee} on that account.

Some Taverns being wanted along the Road at the several Stages on the West of Bedford: It would give no umbrage to the Indians, if you would permit People to build them at proper distances, allowing them the use of some Lands about their Houses to raise Hay & Corn.

M^r Croghan in partnership with Clapham, proposes making a settlement upon the Yioghiogheny, by virtue of an Indian Right such as he has for the Six miles Tract where he now lives on the Allegheny, & for other Lands down the Ohio.

Without any Discussion of those extensive Claims, I desired them not to proceed on this new Settlement, till I could receive your orders thereupon.

I have renewed in the Strongest manner your orders not to Impress any Horses or Carriages on the Communication, but by my own Direction, and to inform all command^s officers of Troops & Partys thereof: I shall have none impressed myself, unless there is an absolute necessity for it, which is not the case at present. If any have been impressed for the Baggage & Sick of the R.W. it is unknown to me, and I had provided them with a sufficient number of returned Horses.

By the Return of our Waggon Horses, you will see the twelve reduced to six, having been obliged to send five to Detroit with the oxen, to carry salt & corn, & the provisions for the Party, as we want immediately three Teams for the Works we must buy six more, if we can get them, here, till we are supplied from below: We have now 45 men in the ditch, The Sod Works all repaired, & we shall begin to make Bricks.

I am very sorry to lose Bentinck, & pity his fate. The Generals' offer to permit him to purchase a Company, was extremely kind, and his Friends in neglecting that favour have ruined him, — An enemy can hardly hurt more than a friend with a narrow soul. He is far yet from being unhappy if he obtains the honour of your Protection. I could

wish he might be employed somewhere this Campaign to save him the mortification of serving as youngest Lieu^t in the 45th Reg^t & that favour would be of more service to him, than the Dreams of his Relations have proved hitherto.

I have the honour to be with great Respect

Sir,

Your most Obedient and most
Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

Gen^l MONCKTON.

SAME TO MONCKTON.

FORT PITT 25th April 1761.

SIR

Lieu^t Bentinck having been unwell I kept him a few days longer on that account Capt. Nelson having informed me that his Comp^y is at Bedford, I desired him to send a Party to clear the Road to Ligonier of fallen trees. The Ship Carpenters and Stores are gone up.

I received the Return of Fort Burd. Is M^r Hoops to pay for the meat bought there?

I inclose also the Return from Presqu'Isle of 24th March omitted in the last Packett.

We lost since the Return two Granadiers by desertion.

I am very Respectfully

Sir,

Your Most Obedient and
Most Humbl. Serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

Gen^l MONCKTON.

RICHARD PETERS TO GEN^L MONCKTON.PHILADELPHIA 27th April 1761.

SIR,

I am favoured with yours of the 16th which I put into the hands of our mutual good Friend Mr. Allen and he made the best use of it silyly that it was capable of. But it made no Impression as the Politicians of this City were determined to cram their Bill down the Governors Throat tho' in every part directly repugnant to the report of the Lords of Trade and the Judgment of the Privy Council, or else to lay the loss of the 500 men at his door. It was not possible for the Governor to give up the essential Rights of Government and so the Bill dropped and on Friday the House adjourned to September.

Mr. Allen desires me to mention to you that the members for Cumberland York and Lancaster were strenuous for the raising the men and did in all respects behave extremely well not only upon this but all other occasions. This is really true and we would both become Petitioners that the Innocent might be distinguished from the Guilty. Cou'd these wicked men who from private Gain carry on their Party Purposes be made to smart for it I think it would do some Good but if the poor Frontier Counties who are over voted shoud suffer too they are much to be pitied, especially as it is not their choice to be in such bad Company nor do they approve the Measures.

I am Sir

Your most obedient humble Servant

RICHARD PETERS.

His Excellency the Honrble General MONCKTON.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

*(Indorsed, REC^d Y^r 17th)*FORT PITT 4th May 1761.

SIR,

This is to inform you that Gray Eyes, and Winghynam with a white Boy their Interpreter are going tomorrow to Pensilvania, to deliver to the Governor the answer of the Delaware Chiefs upon three Messages they say to have received from that Government for holding a Council below.

As the detaining their Prisoners & continual Stealing of Horses, must render them very obnoxious to the Inhabitants, I could have wished to put them off, till I could know your Intentions thereupon, But as they insisted upon going Immediately, I have given them a Pass, and requested the Magistrates in the Settlements to sende them with proper Conductors to Philad^a. M^r Spier takes care of them to Carlisle. I have acquainted the Governor with their Journey.

The Communication with Red Stone & Cheat River is continually infested by Mingos & Shawanese, carrying off Horses and Battoes — M^r Croghan has had no success in his attempts to put a stop to those Irregularities, & the Shawanese Chiefs declare that they have lost all their influence upon their young Men

The Delawares do not behave much better about the Fort having stole a considerable number of Horses from the Traders going to Detroit. I have forbid again to sell them any Rum, But as it is carried in the night over the River, I could not yet suppress it, But hope to do it in time.

Le Boeuf & Venango are now abundantly supplied, one

Battoe was oversett in French Creek by which accident our men lost arms accoutrements & cloathing, as by the inclosed Return; The arms will be found again when the Creek is low. —

The Battoe sent from Presqu'Isle to Niagara was not returned the 25th last. They have meat, but little flour. In case they could not receive in time a supply from that Fort. There is a sufficient quantity at Le Boeuf to support both Garrisons four months.

M^r Rou the Master Shipwright arrived yesterday from Lancaster, and he goes tomorrow to join the two others at Presqu'Isle. If the Battoes actually at that Port are not sufficient for their supply, They will build another and proceed with their own to Detroit.

Agreeable to your Orders to me I had certified the quantity of Rum due to the Shipwrights in settling their accounts in December, and fixed the Price to be paid by the same at twelve shillings a Gallon, The current Price at that time. Capt. Sinclair refused to pay it, & the account is returned to me, The amount is £12.10sh.

Six Brickmakers sent by Capt. Gordon are at Work, and I have ordered four Horses to be bought here to keep two Teams going for Wood for the Kilns till more are sent up. The Store House is raised, & we have almost cleared the Ditch of the Courteen & the two Bastions near the gate.

I am glad to hear that the Pensilvanians have granted 500 more men. If Capt. Gordon is to return it is time he was here as I foresee that in waiting for his directions several parts of the works will not go on with the necessary dispatch. I have the honour to be very Respectfully,

Sir

your most obedient and most

Humble servant

HENRY BOUQUET

Gen^l MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

(Indorsed, REC^d Y^s 30th)FORT PITT 15th May 1761

SIR,

By a letter received last night from Lieut. Baillie I am informed that Capt. Cochrane was arrived at Presqu'Isle, but as *his Letters* are not come yet, I do not know any Particulars.

Since my last by M^r Spear, The Indians have continued to steal the Trader's horses, and having been obliged to send our Team to the Saw Mill for Boards to cover the Bricks, I ordered the Horses to be kept at night in the Stable joining the House, as we can only afford three men there to attend the Mill, & no guard.

The same night some Shawanese broke open the Stable behind, and carried off the four Horses, one of which was found shot the next morning near Chartiers' Creek: M^r Croghan sent an Indian after them with a String of Wampum to deliver him those Horses, he overtook them Sixty miles down the River, but they laughed at him, and kept the Horses, Those Indians are well known here, and Croghan has their Names.

That loss in the present circumstances, is the more distressing, that we have no Wood to burn the Bricks: Not to stand quite Still, I have bought two Horses to compleat a weak Team.

The 500 additional men I expected being now vanished, The few I shall get will be all employed in finishing as much as we can of the Fort: I expect daily Capt. De Haa's Company.

The Water that filled up the French Ice House, being low, we have digged for the Cannons and met with the suc-

cess you expected, having found nothing but a few Cannon Balls; The French Soldier deserted when he saw us near the bottom, and was taken up in the Woods by Capt. Trent pursuing some Mingoes who had stolen Ten of his Horses: As that Rogue belongs to the Garrison of Detroit, I keep him in Irons till I have an opportunity to send him down or receive your directions thereon.

Mr Croghan has communicated to me that having your Leave to go down after his return from Detroit, he sett's out Sunday next leaving his Brother Ward to attend his Department in his absence.

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient and most Humble Serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

The General's Letters are forwarded to Detroit.

General MONCKTON.

CAPT CAMPBELL TO GEN^l MONCKTON.

(Indorsed, REC^d JULY Y^a 2^o)

MAY y^e 22^d 1761

SIR

I had the honour of yours a few days agoe which gave me the greatest pleasure, I would have continued to write you but imagined you was gone upon some other service, as by your instructions to me, I was ordered to report every thing that happened here to Gen^l Amherst, which I have done every month.

As I have wrote so fully to Gen^l Amherst from time to time what has happned at this Port, and of which you have no doubt been informed, I shall not now trouble you, to repeat what I have wrote him.

I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you that things in

General have succeeded in my Command better than I could have expected.

As Major Walters wrote me he could give me no assistance from Niagara, I made shift to rig out Six Batteaus & sent Lieut. Leslye with them from this 18th April, who went by Presqu' Isle, & stayed six days at the carrying place for want of Provisions, he returned here 11th May & brought me one hundred & thirteen Barrels, the expedition of this voyage surprises the French, as they never heard of its being performed in so short a time.

This day send off an officer & five large Batteaus to Niagara, which for want of Pitch is all I could send.

The twenty five Bullocks which Coln^l Bouquet sent came safe but not fit for present use.

It is a very easy matter to drive Cattle from Fort Pitt to this place in the proper season.

The Inhabitants & Indians seems reconciled to the Change of Government.

I have daily Councils with the Indians and dont find the want of Indian Mannagers any loss.

Nothing can be more agreeable to me than that my conduct be approved of by Gen^l Amherst and you, I have done what I could to follow your instructions and to do what appeared to me best for his Majesty's service, I am with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient Humble Servant

DONALD CAMPBELL.

DETROIT 22^d May, 1761.

It would seem Gates has quite forgot me.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO GEN. MONCKTON FROM CAPT.
CAMPBELL.DETROIT 1st June 1761.

SIR

I dare say long before this time every thing is fixed for the Campaign, and the Troops in March to Reinforce this Place, and take possession of the other Ports, we long to know our Fate. The Indians expect presents from us, I have done every thing in my power to keep them in temper, I have been obliged to give them provissions and small presents (tho' without orders) I hope the General will approve of it as the necessity of the service requires it, At our first taking possession of this Country, and being left here with so small a Garrison they were in use to get every thing they wanted from the French. Depriving them of all Assistance might have been of Fatal consequences, I have prevailed on all the Nations to give up their Prisoners, but the Wiandots, they have in some respect Refused it, we are not in a condition at present to oblige them to it, There is a great spirit among the Indian Nations to go against the Cherokees (sic) (tho' I have not orders for it I encourage them in it and supply all the parties that go to war with amunition—Your supply of amunition has been of the greatest use to me, I have wrote to Major Walters for some, I hope he will send it as the Indians have great demands on me. The most of the Indian Traders have come from Fort Pitt, several of them have brought Rum ; I have taken such measures as not to allow any to be sold to the Indians, I hope they will all Dispose of their Goods, when we take possession of the different ports. The Indians all go to Niagara for the sake of Rum, they provide no ammunition and indeed scarsely Cloaths, if there is no stop put to it, it will be troublesome to the officer

that commands at this place, last year there was no harm in allowing as much Rum as they chuse to buy when this Country was in Possession of the French.—

I think it will be easy to send Cattle from Fort Pitt it will be better to send a party of the Troops with Indian Guides than to employ Canadians from this.—

I forgot to mention to you in my last that Lieut. Lessly says the Vessel that was cast away last year on the North side of the Lake might with very little trouble be made fitt for service; I do not know if they intend any such for the lake, such a Vessel would be of great service from this to Michellimakinac, as the Lake is very deep water and good navigation, any Batteaux that are built for the Lake, should be made as large as possible the French Batteaux we have found here are of a Good Size I have been only able to Repair five of them for want of Pitch.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

(Indorsed, REC^d JULY 2^d)

FORT PITT 12th June 1761.

SIR,

While Colonel Vaughan was here, I took the liberty to apply to you for leave of absence, which I dropt as soon as I knew he was recalled.

My reason was that being unluckily concerned with some Friends in Europe, in a Plantation in Sth Carolina, to the amount of upwards of £6.000 — Sterl^s I was informed that our Agent under whose name the Purchase is made, managed it very ill: By the last express I have advice that he has sold 25 & four Negroes to pay his own Debts, and that if I did not take proper measures, he would not stop there: As I cannot do it at this Place, we are exposed to

loose the whole unless I can go to Charlestown or at least to Philadelphia, to advise with the Lawyers how to prevent a further Depredation.

The danger attending any delay will I hope excuse this second application at this season, and the Impropriety of troubling you with my private affairs.

Capt. Gordon being known to you as an Officer who can well be trusted with the Command of this Post, I would be extremely obliged to you to permit me to leave it to him, for the shortest time possible, and Capt. Mather his Senior, being convalescent, I would beg your leave to take him with me, that Capt. Gordon might have the sole management of the whole.

I have the honour to be very Respectfully

Sir,

your Most obedient, and

most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

(Indorsed, REC^d JULY 2^d)

FORT PITT 12th June 1761.

SIR,

I had the honour of your Letter of the 17th by L^t Mayer, at this date no other Provincials are arrived than the 30 first mentioned: I expect tomorrow about 70 more: The garrison at Ligonier is relieved by 1 Serj^t and 12 Pensilv^s Lieut Blane remaining:

The Serjeant's Party sent in March to Detroit with 25 oxen returned yesterday, having delivered them safe, with great fatigue & want; The Horses carrying their flour

failed, and tho' they were almost starved they have not killed one Bullock: From Sandusky they found continual Swamps round the Lake, and marched often midle deep in water: Capt. Campbell writes that the Canadiens are only fit for the Lake, and not for such service, But they can be sufficiently supplied from Niagara.

The twelve Cags of Powder arrived also Safe: As the French did not build their Batteaux at Detroit, They cannot make Pitch; What we could spare them is not Sufficient. They must be supplied from Niagara. Capt. Campbell complains of the quantity of Rum sold at that Fort upon Sir Williams' Permitts, and of the bad use that (unknown to him) the Traders make of them.

The Indians have stole some more Horses of the Country People. The bulk of them are not concerned in those Insults committed by some Vagabonds chiefly Mingoes. Since Mr Croghan went down, I have spoke so seriously to the Principal Chiefs about us, that they have once more promised to do their endeavours to suppress it, and engaged positively to deliver in two months our Prisoners, & the stolen Horses they can get, I could wish that when they go to the Town they were not made so much of, at least while they detain our Prisoners & continue to steal our Horses: As they are very apt to attribute kindness to Fear, and I never could get any thing of them by sofft words: We are upon very good Terms at present and they have thanked me in form for keeping Rum from them.

We have had another Batteau oversett in French Creek, and lost some Provisions & the Shipwrights Tools, which are replaced.

Another large Batteau with 30 Barrills of Beef for Venango, struck about 40 miles from hence upon a Log under Water in a Rapide, and being carried down with great Impetuosity by the Current fell against a Tree hanging in the River, Splite, and oversett, one man was killed by the Tree, & another drowned; I sent Capt. Clapham with a Party to

save what Provisions they can, they are not come back yet ; Those People were expert Battoemen, not belonging to the garrison.

Capt. Barnsley went down on receiving the first orders, but his Bulk does not admit of extraordinary diligence.

I sent to Major Walters a List of fifteen men of his Garrison to be discharged ; There are a few more in Capt. Cochrane's Company at Presqu'Isle which I shall keep a little longer, and only three here ; the rest intituled or not must serve the Campaign.

The Generals' orders concerning Drummers are given out. The Commissions for Capt. L^t Philips, Lieu^t M^cDonald, and Ensⁿ Geo. Price are arrived. this last has settled with Capt. Bassett for the £125—Ster^s purchase, as you are pleased to ask my sentiments upon the means of suppressing, or reducing the Pay given here to Soldiers for their work, I shall observe in general that in England and all other services the Soldier is paid when employed in *regular* Fortifications like this : and tho' they receive Provisions in this Country. Every officer knows that by the difference of Prices for Necessarys, the whole Pay of the Soldier is no more than sufficient to keep him in repair, as they have no opportunity to earn a Six-Pence out of the Service.

But as it appears extraordinary that they should be paid at this only place on this Continent : I beg leave to point out some Reasons to justify that difference.

In 1758, and 1759, This Battⁿ like the rest of the army received only a Jill of Rum per day for each man's work : The Price of that Jill was then here one Shilling, which was afterwards reduced to 9 d. The daily distribution of that Rum, when the men came to be continually employed, being attended with Inconveniences & complaints : Gen^l Stanwix paid them their Jill in money, which, without increasing the Publick Expence, forwarded greatly the works, by introducing the method of Tasks, impracticable with Rum : and one man making commonly two Tasks, or two

days work in one; one half is saved in Time & consequently so much Provisions upon the whole. When you reduced the Rum to 6 d. a Jill, Their Pay followed that reduction: Therefore they have only in fact a Jill of Rum a day, whether in kind or money is all one for the Publick; and tho' Rum by the Barrill is bought here at the rate of ten shills. a gallon; The Retailers cannot sell it much under 6 d. a Jill, considering the high wages of their Servants and the Price they have to pay for provisions.

Whatever may be done elsewhere, it appears to me very just to pay the Soldiers at this Place for work. For they are charged 10, & 11 Shill^{gs} a Pair of Shoes, Shirts, Stockings &c. in proportion, and being constantly kept at work they waste more than double the usual allowance of those necessaries, and their Pay alone could hardly keep them in Repair.

At any other Post all must be cheaper from the difference of Water, and Land Carriage.

Other Regiments have not been Continually at work and have done other duties.

But this is the fourth year that this Battⁿ is worked Winter and Summer, without Intermission (except the time you was here) and the men begin to be a little discouraged to see no end of their fatigues, as excepting Sundays when the guards are relieved, they have not one day to themselves.

All the Circumstances peculiar to this Place, and the Battⁿ considered, I see only one method, and that I apprehend impracticable this Summer, to send them upon some other Service, and relieve them by Troops not used to be paid for work.

I am so sensible of the necessity of reducing, even in the smallest articles, the heavy expences of this War, that if I could contribute to that end in my narrow sphere I think myself obliged in honour & duty to do it. But I cannot

think it advisable to make any alteration this year here, as there are so few men, and so much work to do.

But whatever you will think proper to determine there-upon shall be executed.

What I have said concerns only the Battⁿ. But it is not practicable to make a difference wth the Provincials while Employed on the same duty, and we cannot afford to loose the Labour of the Regulars become now very expert, and handy, in making Bricks, Lime, Sod work &c.

I must beg the favour of your orders concerning the Detachment of Artillery, as they have nothing to do, I make them give six men for the Fort Guard, to have as many more of ours for work.

I wanted also to employ their Artificers about the Fort, But they dont think themselves obliged to work out of the Artillery, unless they are paid for it; as I am not acquainted with the Extraordinary Priviledges of that Corps, I dropt it till I know your intentions.

Bentincks' good fortune has given me great pleasure, I hope he will continue to deserve the protection of his Patrons.

I beg your pardon for the length of this Letter at a time when business must crowd on all sides upon you. Permit me to congratulate you on your Promotion, and appointment to the Government of New York.

I am with great Respect

Sir,

Your most obedient &
most Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

CAMPBELL TO BOUQUET.

SIR

I wrote you lately very fully of all my proceedings at this place, since that time I have been a little allarmed by the reports of the discontent and bad designs of the Indian Nations which as they carried some appearance of truth, put me upon my Guard and made me at pains to find out the true cause of their Discontent, it was first told me it proceeded from the Northern Indians but I now find it comes from the Six Nations, and for your information I give you the Intelligence I had from my Indian Interpreter and several other people of character whom I can depend upon.

The Six Nations have sent Deputys and large Belts of Wampum to all Indians from the Bay of Gaspier to the Illnois, inviting them to take up the Hatchet against the English, two of their Deputys (Senica Chiefs) came here two Days ago to propose it to the Nations here and to invite them to a grand Councell at the Little Lakes, with the Delewars and Shawanies whose Chiefs are allready there amongst whom is the Bever, as I have so good information of every thing that passes I hope to be able to prevent the Indians here from taking any concern.

The Scheme laid is that the Indians in general shall at one time cut of all the communications and stop the Roads at Niagara Fort Pitt and here and at the same time seize upon all the Goods and Horses of the Traders at Sanduskey ; In order to prevent their taking the advantage of the powder and Indian Goods at Sanduskey, I have sent M^r Hambach this night with about fifty of the Traders servants armed and five Batteaus to bring all the Traders and Goods here, which will certainly be a great disappointment to their project.

I have sent this express by Presqu'Isle that you may have the intelligence as soon as possible, the truth of which is not to be doubted, as it came in confidence from the Senecas themselves who with the rest of the Six Nations are to assemble at the Head of French Creek about twenty five leagues from Presqu' isle.

I have wrote to the General and Major Walters by Niagara but in case of any accident, I should be glad you would give information of it to the General and to the Officers at the different Ports, how far the Indians will be able to put their whole plan in execution I do not know but it is certain they have very bad designs and will do some mischief. So far as I learn they propose to begin in 15 days after this.

I expect Ensign Gorrell with the Batteaus from Niagara every Day, if he was here with the provisions I should not be uneasy about my post as the Inhabitants seem well disposed to support me

I am with the greatest respect

Sir

Your m^t obd^t Hble Serv^t

DONALD CAMPBELL

DETROIT 16th June 1761

The Delawares and Shawanies are certainly greatly concerned in the plot.

CAPT. CAMPBELL TO CAPT. COCHRANE.

DEAR SIR

Since I wrote my last, I have certain Intelligence that the Delawars Shawneese and a part of the Six Nations

have undertaken to surprise Fort Pitt they say they will have no Difficulty in it as they are allowed to go into the Fort at all times, They are first to begin to intercept the provisions, so I beg you will inform Colonel Bouquet of this without loss of time and take great Precautions when you send to Fort Pitt; there is no time to be lost

I am D^r Sir

Yours &c.

DONALD CAMPBELL.

DETROIT June 17 1761.

CAMPBELL TO BOUQUET.

SR,

I had the Honour to write you 16th Instant by an Express, to Presqu' Isle, which I hope is come to hand as I desired Cap: Cochran to send it with all possible dispatch and precaution.

What I then wrote you of the bad intention of the Six Nations appears to be but too true.

I had the good Fortune as my intelligence was early to assemble the Nations here before the Deputys from the Six Nations, had an oportunity to hold their Councells with them. I then told them I was informed of the Bad designs of the Six Nations and of their Deputys being at that time in the Wiandot Village.

They owned the Deputys were then in the Village and said they believed they came with no good intentions, they had not then heard them but would next day and let me know what they said.

Two days after they returned and told me what had passed in their Council, the purport of which as given me by the Interpreters, I send you in French as perhaps it

might loose its Force by my translation and which, if you think proper may forward to the General.

The same accounts of the Councel was given me by a French man from Michilemackinah who at my desire sent one of the Indians who came here with him to attend the Councell, this I did as I would not trust entirely to the Intelligence of the Indians here.

In case of any accident to the Express I sent by Prisqu'-Isle, I have sent Aron the Mohawk who is now a Wiandot, to pass by the little Lake and the Delawar Towns, that he may be able to inform you of what is passing there, I am more anctious that you should be informed of this affair, as one part of their scheme is to endeavour to surprize Fort Pitt, this is to be attempted by a part of the Six Nations the Delawars & Shawanies whilst the rem^t of the Six Nations were to assemble at the Head of French Creek and attempt some thing against Niagara with the assistance of the Northern Indians, whom they have been endeavouring to bring into their scheme by means of the Missisagues.

The disappointment from the Nations here and the bringing away the Indian goods from Sanduskey will be a great means to disappoint their Schemes, if they have not already begun hostilitys.

I have sent an Express to the General by Niagara but in case of any accident should be glad you communicated this intelligence to him and General Monckton if he still commands the Southern Districts.

Ensⁿ. Gorrel returned last night from Niagara with the Batteaus which makes me entirely easey as to my Post.

I wrote to Major Walters to send me some ammunition by M^r. Gorrell his answer was he could give me none without orders from General Amherst, by his refusal which I own surprized me much I am obliged to take some from the Traders till a supply is sent me, as it is absolutely necessary to give a little to the Indians at present.

The Carpenters only arrived here yesterday a farther

supply of materials for building Batteaus is absolutely necessary.

I have prepared wood for Ten Batteaus, they have only brought me two small Keggs of pitch which is not enough to repair the Batteaus that are here.

I send of this Express in such a hurry that I have not time to make out the Returns, shall send them by next opportunity, at the same time I have the pleasure to acquaint you there is no alterations since last return and not one sick man in the Garrison

I have the honour to be with the greatest
respect and esteem

Sir

Your Most Obedt^t Humble Servant

DONALD CAMPBELL.

DETROIT 21st June 1761.

To Colonel BOUQUET
Commanding at
Fort Pitt.

Par ordre des cinq nations apportés, par un qui se nomme taatorerinse ; autrement les françois le nomme rosignole.

le dit sauvage, trois jours après être arrivé, chez les hurrons, ne pouvant pas leur parler, parcequ'ils étaient toujours dans l'hyvresse, la quatrieme journée, a fait avertir les quatre nations du détroit, disant qu'il avoit des paroles à leur communiquer, alors les nations se sont rendus à la demande, quand ils ont été tous rassemblés, il a prie des branches de porcelaine, en leur dissant mes freres, c'est vous autres, qui m'avez attirés dès l'automne passé, mais je vous die par les branches de porcelaine icy, nous autres cinq nations, notre loge est longue, nous ne pouvons pas délibérer si vite, quand nous avons quelque projet ; cependant voila des branches de porcelaine que nous avons envoyés de bon printems, quand j'ai fait le bout de ma

cabane qui est si longue, j'ai prie le partie de venir, je m'en suis venus a St' d'osquet; [Sandusky?] j'ai été surprise, d'y trouver les branches de porcelaine que j'avois envoyés devant; alors je les ai prie, et je les apporte moimeme; par d'autres branches de porcelaine mes freres hurons, outavis, ouchibois et poux ecoutez moi, je vous aie dis que ma cabane était longue, que je ne deliberois pas tout d'un coup, j'ai arrivé à St' dosquet, je comptois y trouver un feu allumé, point du tout, j'ai y trouvé des feux morts, j'ai gratté dans la cendre, j'ai trouvé des charbons, où y il avoit un reste de feu, j'ai rassemblés les charbons avec les tisons, et j'y ai rallumé un bon feu, c'est la ou nous vous prions de venir, pour y parler d'affaire de consequence, c'est la ou sont rassemblés nos chefs, a ce feu que je vous aie dis que j'ai allumé, chefs des cinq nations et des . . . et chayoinous, c'est la ou les chefs vous diront leur sentimens par deux torquets de tabac, que je vous presente de la part de nos chefs ils vous prient en faissant votre route de venir à ce feu que je vous aie dis que j'avois allumé, en fumant, pour qu'il vienne de bonne pensée par trois branches de porcelaine mes frères on dit que la bouche de l'anglais et la notre ne fait qu'une, je vous die par les branches de porcelaine, icy, que ce n'est pas vray, l'anglais a sa bouche, et nous autres nous avons la notre; je vous dis que je désapprouve cela; avec deux petits bois, les tenant dans la main, mes freres, je ne vous die pas la signification de les deux petits bois, en les tenant dans la main, quand vous serez rendus, où sont nos chefs, là où je vous ai dis que j'avois allumé ce feu, ils vous feront l'explication ce que veulent dire les petits bois. On dit aussi que les anglais ont envoyé des colliers aux alibamous, et aux chixaxia en dissant par leur colliers que nous avons les memes idées qu'eux. je vous dis mes frères que non, comme quand ils ont prie possession du détroit, ça n'a jamais été nos sentimens, nous vous dissons que nous desapprouvons cela.

Raiponse des nations, tous d'un meme accord et d'une meme voie au dit sauvage cydessus.

Mon frère, il est vray que nous t'avons invité à venir parler avec nous de bonne affaires, tu nous anonce que tu es arrivé au petit lac, que tu dis que tu a été surpris d'y trouver les feux morts ; là où sont des chefs qui nous attende. nous sommes surpris de la proposition de tes chefs ; de nous proposer de nous parler dans un pais d' . . . nous n'avons jamais oui dire qu'il eut un feu allumé veritablement la, il est vray quil si ai allumé quelquefois, quelque feu, mais c'est par quelques chasseurs, qui y cherchoient leur vie. nous te dissons que nous y allons point, si tes chefs, sont venus pour y parler de bonne affaire nous les invitons de venir icy nous la dire publiquement, du tems que nous avions un pere qui venoit des chefs pour parler de bonne affaire, nous venions nous rassembler dans la maison de notre père, la où nous nous dissions nos idées publiquement présentement, nous avons notre frère anglais qui tient la meme place, c'est pour cela que nous dissons a tes chefs que s'yl y a quelque chose a nous communiquer, de venir dans la maison du notre frère, ainsi voila les idees de vos frères, gens du detroit.

(INDORSEMENT.)

Coppy of an Indian Council
18th June 1761
Received the 29th at night
by Aron.

BOUQUET TO MONCKTON.

*(Indorsed, REC^d JULY Y^e 8th)*FORT PITT 30th June 1761.

SIR,

By the inclosed copys of the repeated Intelligences I have from Detroit, you will see the sudden Revolution happened in our Indian Affairs: I did give very little credit to the first advices, but upon the following Letter just received I have taken the necessary measures to prevent a Surprise: The Inhabitants to the number of about 120 are armed, & divided in two Companies, keeping guards along the banks of the Rivers. I bring today in the Fort the Pennsylvanians, and till we can close the N.W. Part of the Rampart. The gorges of the Bastions are stockaded: It is very probable that the Detroit Indians having refused to join the Confederates, they will drop their Project, But as they have since sent new Messengers to the Shawanese & Southern Indians, & remain at Sandusky, They may yet attempt something in hopes of being joined by the whole.

If we had a Vessell upon Lake Erie, it would now be of great service to support the advanced Posts, and as Major Walters has refused to send ammunition to Detroit, I must send some from hence, but shall not do it without probable certainty of being delivered safe.

The affair of the Indian killed was particularly unlucky at this Juncture, tho' as it happened so much later than their Plott was discovered they cannot make it a Pretext of their Conspiracy. I have made it up with the Chiefs about

us, in a Conference held yesterday, & they all agreed that the Indian deserved his fate.

This morning an old Indian Trader Soldier in the Pensilvanians, & Batman to Capt. Little arrived here, He had been lefft on the Road near the three Redoubts to hunt his Masters Horse, was taken by two Indians, Delaware & Mohikan, carried a whole day with them tied at Night, and released the next day by the Mohikan who knew him, while the Delaware who had threatened several times to kill him was gone hunting.

I reinforce Ligonier with 1 corporal & 6 R.A. all our communication from that Post to Presqu'Isle is very unsafe, as seldom a man appears on the Road, without being robbed.

You will observe by the Return of the Pensilv^a. Troops that their 300 men are reduced to one half: The last division arrived here on Sunday having been 13 days in coming from Bedford.

Burent is arrived with the Horses, and is gone back with two Waggon's to bring Towage & Iron from Ligonier, he has an Escort.

Captain Gordon is expected every day, and I hope brings your Letters.

I beg you will please to send me your orders concerning the Presents which cannot be avoided to be given to the Delaware & Shawanese if agreeable to their engagements, they deliver their Captives and as the ammunition at Bedford & Cumberland may be wanted here, How you chuse to have it brought up, as we have no Carriages, and cannot afford Escorts, without neglecting the Works—I would think this a proper opportunity to get more Troops of Pensilvania, inlisted for the time you will think necessary, and not only for a few months, one half of which they always contrive to loose by affected delays.

In this critical circumstance, you may be certain that

should I receive your Leave to go down, I would not quit this Post till the Storm is blown over.

I have the honour to be with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient &
most Humble Servant,

H. BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

Mr. Ormsby has taken the Charge of the Stores in the Room of Mr. Hamilton sent to Virginia. Cap. Clapham is discharged from the Works by Capt. Gordons direction.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 10th July 1761.

SIR,

I had yesterday the honour of your Letter of the 28th June. The Detachm^t of Artillery ordered to Bedford & Philad^a are on their march; Capt. Hay sent a List of the best men, who have been chosen. He leaves us only one Bombardier unless he sends up the one at Philadelphia.

As soon as Captain Gordon arrives, I shall give all the Dispatch I can to the intended Blockhouse at Sandusky: When that Detachm^t is gone, little can be expected of the few men remaining here, The Pensilvanians diminishing daily by sickness & desertion.

A Plott for desertion being discovered two days ago among them, The Ringleader was killed & the six men concerned with him taken & punished. Coll. Burd, Cap^t De Haas, Capt. Bryan not joined yet.

We have no Ship Carpenters, and I informed you that the 3 we had, were sent in the Spring to Detroit agreeable

to your orders. I'll write to have them employed at the Blockhouse when they have done with the Batteaux.

In a letter of the 28th June received yesterday from Detroit, Capt. Campbell confirms the Intelligence transmitted to you the 30th without any new circumstance: Nothing has happened here of late except the stealing of some more Horses: I take this to be the time to put a stop to those Robberies, and the double dealing of the Indians by forbidding the Trade with the Shawanese till they deliver the Prisoners & Stolen Horses, agreeable to their repeated Promises.

They are now in want of Powder, and if you would permit to take all Trade from them, they would find themselves reduced to buy at an immoderate Rate of the other Indians. They would soon tire of it, and in the mean time they cannot do us any damage but what we may retort upon them.

I transmitted to you in April the accounts and Vouchers, which I hope arrived safe. As Capt. Gordon is allowed a Clerk and a Paymaster I beg you would please to order him to pay all Publick Expences here, as that detail is disagreeable & very troublesome to me.

I mentioned some time ago that a quantity of Indian Corn had been lodged in the Kings store (and indeed partly used) The People desire to know if it will be bought, & at what price?

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most Obedient & most
Humble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

(*Indorsed*, REC^d AUGUST Y^r 10th)

FORT PITT 24th July 1761.

SIR,

Yesterday M^r Croghan delivered me your Letter of the 13th. Nothing new has happened since my last. All the Indians about us very quiet.

The Delaware and Shawanese are much divided in their Councils. Some being for delivering the Prisoners, others for keeping them: The Delaware are said to have 100 yet & the others 150.

Coll. Burd, Capt. De Haas & Bryan are arrived. Likewise Capt. Gordon wth Ensign Pauly: He has no sketch of Sandusky Lake having left it with you.

That Detachment must distress us in every Respect. We have no Horses to carry their Provisions upon their long march, much less to feed them there, and to carry nails, blocks, & a few necessary materials: and no cattle of any kind: (French Creek is not to be depended on.)

The Provincials not thinking themselves obliged to go beyond this Port, I will not ask them but send of the R.A. under the Command & direction of Lieut. Meyer, as soon as I can procure Horses and Cattle.

Oeconomy being so strongly recommended I would think that Major Gladwyn could have built that Blockhouse with half the Trouble & Expence: M^r Croghan proceeds to Detroit, and will acquaint the Indians with our Intentions, & fix upon the most convenient spott on the Sth side of the Lake: I hope we are not to garrison it from hence.

You will soon be informed by Sir William and Croghan of the true Reasons of discontent among the Northern Indians. Those in this District do not complain of any

thing, except that the Traders are not permitted to go to their Towns : But when they are told that the Reasons are their not delivering the Prisoners & continuing to steal our Horses, they have nothing to say, but repeat Promises they will not perform, till forced to it by keeping the Trade from them.

Notwithstanding the bad usage our Traders met at the Shawanese Town, They are very eager to venture amongst them, to be at liberty to deal upon their own terms : I had the honour to Inform you that I never permitted them to go but to such Places where the King has Posts & Garrisons : Crawford produces me a New Pass from you, Copy of which I beg leave to Inclose, as containing two Clauses upon which the Traders and I differ of opinion, The first is the liberty given them to pass to Detroit or . . . to any *Indian Settlement* in that District, by which they think themselves authorized to trade at every Indian Hutt, and this I could not grant as I believe it contrary to your Intention.

The other is the Proviso that they shall conform themselves to the Rules & Regulations made or to be made by the *Commanders in Chief*, and as no orders from him concerning the Trade have to my knowledge been yet sent here they would Imagine themselves freed of all Restraint.

A Word more upon them. Ourry asks me the List of the Traders & Suttlers here to give them Licences ; this being no more a Camp but a garrison I could wish to have your orders thereupon, as I don't apprehend that a quarter master has any thing to do with it, unless he has your approbation, and in that case are all Traders to pay Licences or only such as retail Liquors ?

Major Walters writes me that he had received orders from the General not to discharge any of the Men whose Time was out, upon which he had only discharged those unfit for service.

He desires to know if you chuse he should continue to send you the Returns & Reports of his Post or to General Amherst.

He was obliged to send the Batteaux back to Presqu'isle Empty, for want of Provisions.

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most obliged obedient,
Humble Serv^t

H. BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FORT PITT 27th July 1761.

SIR,

I have the honour to inclose you Copy of Capt. Campbells' Letter to me.

The two Indians who delivered it, are the Seneca Chiefs who made the Speeches at Detroit. They have had a grand Council this day here, in which they have pretended to repeat all the Speeches passed at Detroit, But have not said a Word of Truth: The answer we have given them is, that having a very different account of their Transactions with the Western Indians, we would judge by their conduct hereafter, which of the Speeches were to be credited: They have received some small Presents, and dissembling on both sides, we parted very great Friends. By the first opportunity you will receive their Speeches of this day, which I cannot get copied now;

Some days ago we lost three Grenadiers by desertion; Two have been taken up beyond the Crossing of the Juniatta, and brought here: Hand & Colton. This is the third time Hand deserts & Colton is the greatest Villain in

America: The desertion has been so frequent in the Granadiers, that an Example appears really necessary: & never Subjects deserved more to suffer than those Two:

A Serjeant of the Pensilvanians is not less guilty. He broke open & robbed a Store, deserted with another man stealing Two Horses, was arrested near Fort Cumberland, made his Escape, came back here when he kept himself concealed several days in the Woods, persuaded five or six young Soldiers to desert wth him, was discovered, all his companions secured, himself alone got off. He was taken again at Juniatta & is secured here.

Whatever turn our Indian affairs may take, It is almost certain that we shall be quiet for some time; when, if you thought it proper, some Stores & ammunition could be sent up from Bedford & Cumberland. The difficulty is to get carriages. The Country People being frightened don't come up as usual.

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient

& most Humble Servant

H. BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

(Indorsed, LETTER FROM COL. BOUQUET REC^d SEPT Y^r 9th)

FORT PITT 12th August 1761.

SIR,

The bearer Mr. Babby having raised strong Prejudices against himself, by his imprudent conduct in the affairs of the merchandizes seized here, has been suspected ever since & often charged of keeping correspondence with the

Savages, & particularly the Shawanese, & the French Deserters they harbour; that he kept minutes of our Transactions, & at last that a Plan of the Fort had been seen in his Papers.

When the Indian Plot was discovered, I arrested M^r Babby, & seized his Papers, which were examined before him by myself & some other officers. By the Letters he had received & the copys of those he had wrote here, It appeared clearly that he had never mentioned any thing besides his own affairs and as to the Plan of the Fort, it proved to be an old Sketch of Fort Duquesne.

Being fully satisfied of his Innocence, he was released, & since that time has been more open than before & behaved himself very properly.

He is thoroughly acquainted with this Part of the Continent & the Western Indians, whose Language he speaks, and being active & Intelligent might be useful in Indian Dealings; if the King keeps Canada at the Peace: & some little advantage in Trade, would easily bring him over to our Interest.

He begs to be recommanded to you for Leave to go to Montreal to settle his accounts of advances to the French Government.

We have not had the least disturbance from Indians nor any Horse stolen of late.

Croghan desires me to inform you that on his way to Detroit, he had made up the affair of the Indian Hickman killed below, & given the usual Presents to his Relations.

We have received at last forty small Beeves which is all the Stock here; That supply enables me to send off Lieut. Mayer, Ens^a Pauly, Two Serjeants, 1 D^r 2 Corp. & 30 R.F. of the R.A. to Sandusky, with all the Cattle we have for themselves & Detroit, and 30 Impressed Horses carrying Flour & a few Tools, Tents, Powder &c.

I have taken the opportunity of the present open & free communication thro' the Indian Country to send some more

flour to Venango & Le Boeuf: and have got all the flour from Red Stone Creek.

One man is deserted from Presque'Isle, another from Detroit: unless the Battⁿ is recruited, we must be very weak after the Campaign, when the men intitled to their discharge, will be again very troublesome.

Capt. Barnsley will have informed you that I had been robbed of a considerable sum of the Subsistence Money he had sent me.

As there was no Cash here and the Engeneers could get none for Bills, I kept it in my hands to pay the Labourers, & other Publick Expences, and have advanced some hundred Pounds to that Branch, the workmen being very Clamorous for their Weekly Pay.

I could not make any discovery hitherto, no Person that could possibly be suspected has left the place since & the Thieves must still be here.

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most obedient & most

Humble Serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

General MONCKTON.

MONSIEUR,

La triste situation de mes affaires me fait aurè prendre la libertée de vous écrire pour vous supplière de vouloir bien m accorder la permistion de rétourner au Detroit, a Michilimakina et à Montreal, pour vacquer a mes interets, et de la passer en France dans le courant de cette année. Je me flatte Monsieur que vous aurée lieu d'estre satisfait de la manier avac la quel je me comporterée honnettement, pendant mon séjour au Canada, et ne feré rien qui puisse

porter préjudisse au service de sa majesté Britannique pendant se tems.

J'ai l'honneur d'estre avec un profond respec

Monsieur

votre tres umble et

tres obbeissant serviteur

A^{TE} BABY.

(See preceding letter.)

PETERS TO MONCKTON.

HONOURED & DEAR SIR,

My head was so full of Lottery Tickets when you went out of Town that I passed the Door & never thought of it till after you were gone.

We have been amusing ourselves at Easton with a grand Meeting of Six Nation Indians & their Dependants the Nantycokes, Conoys, Moheckons, Tutulors & Delawares. They were so hard put to it for an Excuse to come down that they laid before the Governor a Belt given for the Confirmation of y^e peace three years ago as a Belt given to invite them to a Treaty. In this they were set right and then they began most lamentable complaints against General Johnson for discouraging Trade & stopping up their Road to y^e Inhabitants of Albany & New York wth Forts &c. and pretended that he would put them to death. In this likewise they were set right and then they mentioned the Connecticut settlement. This was related to them in its naked truth and they were moreover told that these vagrants settled those Lands under colour of Indian Purchases & they were asked if they had sold the Lands to y^e New England People, they denied it & mentioned y^t some private Indians had taken upon them to sell it. We

gave them a Rect. & string to carry to y^e Onondago Council & to request that in full Council they would reprove their young men & declare those sales void. In short Presents were made as usual & a large Number of Quakers attended & were as busy as ever.

The Minutes are correcting, & y^e Gov^r will send you a Copy & another to Gen^l Amherst.

My most humble service to your good Family & my little Children. Pray has Mrs Gates brought into y^e world a son & Heir & is she well? I am much obliged to her & M^r Gates.

I suppose you slink the Commission for Governor in Chief till after y^e Expedition.

I am

Sir

Your most obliged
humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

PHILAD^a 15 Aug^t 1761.

PRIVY COUNCIL REPORT ON CADWALLADER COLDEN'S (LATE GOVERNOR) LETTERS, PAPERS, AND CONDUCT IN OFFICE, NOV. 11, 1761.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

We have had under our consideration several letters and papers which we have received from Cadwallader Colden Esq^r Lieut. Governor and late Commander in Chief of your Majestys Province of New York in America; and as these letters and papers have reference to certain measures of Government there, which have either been acted upon,

or become the subject matter of discussion, and which appear to us materially to affect your Majesty's service, and the interest and welfare, not only of the Province, but of all other your Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, we think it our indispensable duty in obedience to the directions of our Commission, humbly to lay them before your Majesty, with such observations as have occurred to us upon them.

The material points to which these papers refer, and to which we shall confine our observations are

1st The measures which the Lieutenant Governor and Council have entered upon for granting lands and making settlements upon the Mohawk River, and in the country adjacent to Lake George.

2^d The proposition made to the Lieut. Governor by the Council to grant commissions to the Judges during good behaviour, the limitations of which commissions is by your Majesty's Instructions to all your Governors in America to be during pleasure only.

We shall not upon this occasion take upon us to controvert the general principles of policy upon which either one or other of these general propositions is founded, but however expedient and constitutional they may appear in the abstract view and consideration of them, yet we humbly apprehend, that when they come to be applied to the present state of your Majesty's Colonies, they will appear in a very different light, and be found, the one to be dangerous to their security, and the other to be destructive to the interests of the People, and subversive of that policy by which alone the Colonies can be kept in a just dependence upon the government of the Mother Country.

This, may it please your Majesty, is the general light in which we see these measures, but as they are in their nature separate and distinct, so they will, we humbly apprehend, require a separate and distinct consideration, and therefore we shall humbly offer to your Majesty what has

occurred to us upon each, in the order in which we have placed them.

It is as unnecessary as it would be tedious to enter into a detail of all the causes of complaint which our Indian allies had against us at the commencement of the troubles in America, and which not only induced them, though reluctantly to take up the hatchet against us and desolate the settlements on the frontiers, but encouraged our enemies to pursue those measures which have involved us in a dangerous and critical war, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to observe that the primary cause of that discontent which produced these fatal effects was the cruelty and injustice with which they had been treated with respect to their hunting grounds, in open violation of those solemn compacts by which they had yielded to us the dominion but not the property of their lands. It was happy for us that we were early awakened to a proper sense of the injustice and bad policy of such a conduct towards the Indians, and no sooner were those measures pursued which indicated a disposition to do them all possible justice upon this head of complaint than those hostilities which had produced such horrid scenes of devastation, ceased, and the Six Nations and their Dependents became at once from the most inveterate enemies our fast and faithful friends.

Their steady and intrepid conduct upon the expedition under General Amherst for the reduction of Canada, is a striking example of the truth of what we have represented and they now, trusting to our good faith impatiently wait for that event, which by putting an end to the war shall not only ascertain the British Empire in America, but enable your Majesty to renew those compacts by which their property in their lands shall be ascertained, and such a system of reform introduced with respect to our interests and commerce with them as shall at the same time, that it redresses their complaints and establishes their

rights, give equal security and stability to the rights and interests of all your Majestys American subjects.

Under these circumstances and in this situation therefore the granting lands hitherto unsettled, and establishing Colonies upon the frontiers before the claims of the Indians are ascertained appears to us to be a measure of the most dangerous tendency, and is more particularly so in the present case, as these settlements now proposed to be made, especially those upon the Mohawk River, are in that part of the Country, of the possession of which the Indians are the most jealous, having at different times expressed in the strongest terms their resolution to oppose all settlements thereon as a manifest violation of their rights.

The principles of policy which we have laid down are, we humbly apprehend, in their nature so clear and uncontrovertible, that it is almost unnecessary for us to add any thing further to induce your Majesty to give immediate orders for putting a stop to all settlements upon the Mohawks River and about Lake George until the event of the war is determined, and such measures taken thereupon, with respect to our Indian allies, as shall be thought expedient. And yet it may be proper to observe, that independent of what regards our connection with the Indians, the conduct of those who have, in former times, been entrusted with the administration of the government in New York has, in reference to granting of lands in general, been very exceptionable, and has held forth a very bad example to their successors.

The exorbitant grants of lands which Governours and others have heretofore made greatly to the benefit of themselves, but very much to the prejudice of the interests of the Crown and of the people in general, have long been the subject of great complaint, and we cannot but think, that the Lieutenant Governor and the Council would have shown a greater regard to your Majesty's interests and the welfare of the Province in general, by a pursuit of such

measures as might have operated to correct those abuses and remedy the evils arising from so improper a conduct in their predecessors in government, than by entering upon measures for making fresh grants and settlements which we have great reason to apprehend from information which may be depended upon, are more for the benefit of themselves and their families, than for the subject in general, and therefore we humbly submit to your Majesty, whether this may not be an additional reason, why speedy and positive orders should be given for putting a stop to measures, which appear to us in every light, so destructive of your Majesty's interests, and the general welfare and security of the Colony.

Having thus humbly laid before your Majesty our sentiments upon the first point contained in Mr Colden's letters, we shall proceed to state as shortly as possible, what has occurred to us upon the proposition of granting the Judges Commissions during good behaviour, and it will be the less necessary to detain your Majesty long upon this question, as it has been already so solemnly determined in the case of a law sometime since passed in Jamaica and one lately in the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, for establishing such a constitution.

The principles laid down in the Attorney and Solicitor General's Report upon the Jamaica Law, and in that of our predecessors in office upon the Act passed in Pennsylvania are so clear and explicit that it is almost unnecessary to add anything thereto; but as the people of New York appear, from the Lieut. Governor's letter to be so strenuous upon this point, alleging the precedents and example of the mother country it is our duty to observe that the cases are in our humble opinion, in no degree similar.

The change which the tenure of the Judges' commissions underwent at the Revolution in this Kingdom was founded upon the most conclusive and repeated proofs of arbitrary and illegal interposition, under the influence of

the Crown, upon points of the greatest importance to the Constitution, and the liberty and rights of the subject. It was not however by the tenure of their commissions alone that they were rendered independent, but such salaries were settled upon them as not only rendered them less liable to be corrupted, but was an encouragement for the ablest men to engage in that profession, which qualified them for such high trusts.

The same circumstance does in no degree exist in the American Colonies where, as there is no certain established allowance that may encourage men of learning and ability to undertake such offices, your Majesty's Governors are frequently obliged to appoint such as offer from amongst the inhabitants, however unqualified to sustain the character, and though a more fit person should afterwards be found, yet if the Commission was during good behaviour such unqualified person could not be displaced.

We are sorry to say that late years have produced but too many examples of Governors having been obliged for want of such an establishment as might induce able persons to offer their service, to confer the office upon those who have accepted it merely with a view to make it subservient to their own private interests, and who, added to their ignorance of the Law, have too frequently become the Partizans of a factious Assembly, upon whom they have been dependent for their support, and who have withheld or enlarged that support according as the conduct of the Judges was more or less favorable to their interests.

It is difficult to conceive a state of government more dangerous to the rights and liberties of the subject, but aggravated as the evil would be by making the Judges' Commissions during good behaviour, without rendering them at the same time independent of the factious will and caprice of an Assembly, we cannot but consider the proposition as subversive of all true policy, destructive to the interests of your Majesty's subjects, and tending to lessen

that just dependence which the Colonies ought to have upon the government of the mother country.

That this was in a great degree the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor himself will evidently appear from a letter to us of the 2^d of June last, in which he acquaints us with his having rejected a Bill passed by the Assembly for that purpose, and urges as a reason that there was no fixed salary for the Judges, that it was dependent from year to year on the pleasure of the Assembly, and that while they were thus dependent upon the people for their subsistence, such a measure might be highly prejudicial to the just rights of the Crown and the Acts of Trade. These may it please your Majesty, were then the sentiments of the Lieut. Governor, and though we are at a loss to guess at the motives which could have induced him to declare as he does in his letter to us of the 12th of August following that he apprehended he should be under a necessity of giving way to the proposition, yet it is our duty to say, that we cannot but be of opinion, that if under these circumstances he should have complied with so pernicious a proposition, he will justly have deserved your Majesty's royal displeasure.

Upon the whole, both the points upon which we have now taken the liberty to lay our sentiments before your Majesty, appear to us so essential to your Majesty's rights and the interest and welfare of the Colonies in general, that we humbly submit, whether it may not be advisable that your Majesty's pleasure upon both of them should not be made known, not only in the Colony of New York, but also in all other the American Colonies.

All which is most humbly submitted.

SANDYS
SOAME JENYNS
ED. BACON
JOHN YORKE
EDMOND THOMAS
GEO. RICE.

JOHN WATTS TO GEN^L MONCKTON.NEW YORK, 30th March 1762.

DEAR SIR,

This vessel was fluttering in the wind to be gone, before I knew of her destination. 'Tis with the greatest pleasure I acknowledge the recpt. of your favors from Fort Royall of the 14th and from St Peters of 20th Feb. and congratulate you on the glorious addition of Martinico to his Majestys American Dominions, which receives a double lustre from the spirit by which it was achieved and the inconsiderable loss the brave troops sustained in their gallant attacks. Bless us methinks I hear Horatio holding forth with his spectacles astride his nose, how important he will be, and what is the best on't with how much reason too.

Your letters were all carefully delivered, that came to my hands, but I am sorry to tell you *that* on your landing never reached us, whether the vessel has miscarried, or whether from negligence or some worse cause I don't know.

The old gentleman has said nothing about the instruction tho' I have little or no doubt it is exactly similar with that to S^r Charles. Mr. Chambers has resigned entirely, Mr. Horsmanden accepted the second seat of Justice, Mr. Jones the third, during pleasure, which has greatly eased the old gentleman's mind, who was vastly uneasy and apprehensive to have the whole course of Justice depend upon the life of a single little shadow, that the blast might have carried away.

This Spanish War surprises us all much, we could hardly persuade ourselves they were in earnest this Colony has voted the 780 men required and a bounty of ten pounds a head for 479 men to fill up the regulars, but not one of the

other Colonies would hear of meddling with the regulars and what is worse have lessened (some of them) their quota of Provincials, Philadelphia only voted a thousand, Jersey their former number of 666 — Boston and Connecticut I think about two thousand each, St^r J. expresses great concern at it and I believe has repeated his requisition.

We are loading some Victuallers that may sail as soon as they please two I imagine may get away in a few days as their loading is ready, it will consist chiefly of flour and rice.

I sent you by the James and Henrietta Victuallers under convoy of the Lyon armed ship, Cap^t Gostyate, 10 sheep, 6 Hogs, 12 Turkies and 20 Fowls, but she slipped away unknown to me, so that I had not an opportunity of giving you notice of it, I had indeed wrote by the Lyon but it was previous to the shipping of the stock — I am at a loss about sending any more as your return is so uncertain, at least to me, but I believe I shall venture it, as the ill consequence will not be great if we lose the stock and recover your Excellency.

Yesterday I rec^d a letter from Mr. Clarke upon his Black Scheme, but I think that must be now at an end, he is vastly sanguine when he catches a thing, and as soon cools.

We have no late news from England, no January packet yet, nor a word directly about the Spanish War, tho' authentically enough indirectly.

The Contractors have got their money from the Treasury for the provisions shipped with Lord Rollo, and of course will receive in like manner for all the supplies gone to the West Indies, they have therefore nothing to do with the Issues and have ordered their clerks away if the Government don't want 'em & there is one called Cairns we find got to Issue Coll^o Grants provisions at Fort Royall, these will among the rest be paid for at home upon the same principle the others have been, & indeed its necessary it

should be so to prevent confusion as the different supplies will naturally intermix. What is now going Sr Jeffry ships on account of the Crown, as the Issues are out of the limits of the contract, upon which reasoning the contractors had [nothing ?] upon their delivery here into the transports & victuallers.

I am afraid I have exceeded my time— Your friends are all well, have heard of your great success with a sincere pleasure, & would be heartily glad of seeing you safe returned of which none more sincerely than

D^r S^r

Y^r Most Oblig'd

& very humb^l Serv^t

JNO. WATTS.

Oliver, M^r Walton, the Mayor &c: &c: desire their respects particularly.

SAME TO SAME.

NEW YORK 31st March 1762.

DEAR S^r:

I wrote you yesterday a pretty long Letter by a Brig^t called the King George in which our Mr. Bleeker went merchant who had the charge of it, I then acknowledged the receipt of your very obliging favors of 14th & 20th Feb^y with these inclosed which were taken due care of, but observed the Letter you mentioned to have wrote on your landing never came to hand, what owing to I could not tell, The little babes & family I observ'd likewise now all well & as happy as they could be without you, and that they should want no assistance or good office it was in my power to give or do them —

This will be delivered you by a young Mr. Low an in-

habitant of this place who is trying to partake of the benefits of your noble acquisition, & has promis'd me if the dangers of the sea will permit him, to deliver you safe a cask I have put on board containing a dozen Hams of Doct^r. Johnson's curing, call'd very good. A character I hope they may justly deserve, as I think you are very remarkable for this kind of dry'd food, & I heartily wish your appetite may continue for it as a mark of good health — I informed you in mine of yesterday that a Victualler or two would sail in a few days with flour & rice & that I propos'd sending another small supply of stock, tho' I hop'd it might come too late — By the James & Henrietta under convoy of the Lyon I sent 10 Sheep, 6 Shoats, 12 Turkies & 24 Fowls, but every thing is confounded dear, we have not seen Butter to our Bread, so of course as Napier would say, can't tell on which side our Bread is butter'd — My regards to all your family, & to all friends, our Countrymen are pleased with some whispers they hear of Francey Grant — Adieu, believe me with the greatest truth,

S^r Y^r Most Ob^d. Hl Serv^t

JN^o. WATTS.

I have sent you some papers to tell you your own feats but I am afraid they will prove a bad mirror. I dare not trouble you with a particular recommendation of this young man, but some of his friends, who are both yours & mine, have desired I would just mention him to you.

MARTS HALEN BECK TO COLONEL BRADSTREET.

COOK SACKEY 6th May 1762.

SIR,

I rasve your letter as for de number of waggons is not to be geat harr I will do my indavor to git so minne as I chan

I am

Sir

your most humble sert

MARTS HALEN BECK.

To Hon BRADSTRAT D. Q. M. G.
in Albany.

GEN^L AMHERST TO L^T GOV^R COLDEN.

NEW YORK 9th May 1762.

SIR,

By the last post from Albany I had a letter from Colonel Bradstreet, in which is the following paragraph —

“ The difficulty we have to get carriages for his Majesty's service, and the illtreatment the King's troops receive from the Inhabitants, under pretence of there being no law for impressing puts me under the necessity to acquaint your Excellency that the people of this country declare, that unless an Act of Assembly is passed for that purpose, they will not suffer their carriages to be taken for the public use, and that the troops in garrison here are not able to take them against their inclinations. The Mayor of this City is so sensible of this, that he is to acquaint the Lieut.

Governor of it, in hopes of having an Act passed for it now."

I have likewise a letter from Capt. Lieut. Winepress, enclosing one from Captain Le Hunte, containing a complaint of the same nature, copies of which I herewith send you, that you may see the spirit of the inhabitants above Albany.

And I must request you will be pleased to lay before the Assembly the necessity of passing such a law, for I am sorry to say that the people in general up the country, notwithstanding their having reaped the greatest advantages from the troops coming among them, through a spirit of opposition to every thing belonging to the Army, do all in their power to obstruct the King's service.

I am with great regard

Sir, &c.,

JEFF. AMHERST.

Honb^{le} Lt. Governor COLDEN.

ANTONY QUACKENBOSS TO COL. BRADSTREET.

KINDERHOOK May the 9th 1762.

SIR,

I reciv^d yours with respect to fifteen waggons for his majesties service I have taken a great deal of pains with the farmers but cannot prevail. They say their horses are so weak with the long and tedious winter, and besides they have not provender to carry along with them. I would gladly do any thing in my power to serve his majesty which is all from

Sir,

your most obed^t

Humble serv^t

ANTO^y QUACKENBOSS.

Col. BRADSTREET

COLDEN TO AMHERST.

[EXTRACT.]

May 9th 1762.

The Mayor of Albany and M^r Tenbrook one of the Assembly were with me yesterday to complain to me of abuses in pressing carpenter's Horses and waggons. If what they told me be true, it is no wonder that the people are disgusted, and that the service meets with opposition. I desired them to put their complaints in writing, which I expect they will do, and then I shall be able to inform your Excellency with more certainty. They tell me that the abuses arise from the employing 2 or 3 private soldiers to impress, without being under the immediate direction of any officer, and they assure me that if the officers would apply to the magistrates, the necessary service may be carried on without difficulty. I am afraid that if the power of impressing come before the Assembly, I may receive a remonstrance on that head. However if you desire it, I shall by message desire their concurrence in an Act for that purpose.

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

AMHERST TO COLDEN.

NEW YORK 10th May 1762.

SIR,

I am sorry to find by your letter of last night that from the representations of the Mayor of Albany &c, concerning the impressing of carriages &c for the King's service, you are apprehensive that any message of yours to the

Assembly would rather have a bad effect, than procure any law in its favor.

I have on every occasion been ready to redress any grievances when complaints have been made to me of abuses committed by the military; and when you send me the Mayor's complaint in writing,* I shall transmit copies to Col. Bradstreet to have the truth inquired into; but I am too well acquainted with the opposition any commanding officer in that quarter finds in carrying on his Majesty's service to wonder at his being obliged to use force on some occasions, otherwise it would be altogether impossible to execute the orders he receives, which tend to carrying on the service, and are for the good of the people of this country in general. If the civil magistrates were as ready to grant their authority as they pretend to be, I am sure no officer or soldier would be employed to impress either carriages or horses

I am, with great regard

Sir

&c

JEFF. AMHERST.

Hon^{ble} L^d Governor COLDEN.

COPY OF LETTERS FROM COL. BRADSTREET TO THE MAYOR
OF ALBANY (MAY 31 AND JUNE 1, 1762), INCLOSED IN COL.
BRADSTREET'S OF JUNE 7, 1762.

ALBANY 31st May 1762.

SIR,

As you was pleased to tell me yesterday that as soon as the troops now coming from Canada had passed this City

* This the L^d Governor never sent.

you was determined to order the constables to take up and put into jail the first of his Majesty's troops that should impress horses or carriages and that if I wrote to you upon it you would say the same in your letter in answer thereto which I must now desire you will before the post goes out — and you will also make mention what you said in answer to my shewing you the Lieut. Governor's answer to the General upon his applying for an Act of Assembly for impressing carriages, namely, that you did not tell the Lieut. Governor "if the officers would apply to the Magistrates for horses and carriages the necessary service might be carry'd on without difficulty.

I am

VALKERT DOUW Esq. Mayor.

BRADSTREET TO THE MAYOR OF ALBANY.

ALBANY, June 1st 1762.

SIR,

I have this moment received your letter of this date wherein you make no mention of your resolution of ordering the constables to take up and put in jail the first of his Majesty's troops, who shall impress horses, or carriages, after the troops coming from Canada are past — I must desire you will inform me, if you still remain in that resolution, that I may know how to govern myself with respect to it.

VALKERT DOUW Esq. Mayor.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN WINEPRESS OF THE
FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT TO SIR JEFFREY AMHERST, DATED
ALBANY, MAY, 31, 1762.

“The civil magistrates both in the town and country here, have been frequently applied to for carriages for the King’s service, but they will not act, or furnish any, and instead of assisting the officers in forwarding the service, they do every thing in their power to hinder and obstruct it, and even advise the inhabitants not to give their carriages, by telling them there is no law now in force to oblige them: and Colonel Bradstreet tells me that the Mayor here spoke to him, and begged he would apply to have a new Press Act passed: I presume Colonel Bradstreet will write more particularly to you on this subject.”

MAYOR OF ALBANY TO BRADSTREET.

ALBANY June 1st 1762.

SIR,

I received yours dated yesterday and in answer to which say as I then observed to you, tho’ not in so unlimited a manner as you therein express, that I was of opinion that you had no authority of impressing horses, waggons and other things, of which there are complaints to me every day, and as mayor and chief magistrate of the City, whose Right and Liberties I am bound to preserve and maintain and at the same time look upon as my indispensable duty to give all the assistance I can to his Majesty’s service, whose interest and the publick good always has been and

ever shall be my constant endeavour to promote whenever there is an absolute necessity and his Majesty's service require it I will use my endeavours to procure whatever may be wanting, but for horses and carriages to be impressed upon every slight occasion and upon application of any officers to join his corps is what I cant think right, nor can I permit it any longer. With regard to that part of your letter that mentioned our conversation with the Lieutenant Governor his honour has misapprehended us in the follo^g (if the officers would apply to the magistrate for horses and carriages that the service might be carried on.) But we informed him that unless the magistrate had not been aiding and assisting in getting men to work at the batous at Crown Point, they would not have been able to have got the men by the measures that were taken by the military way by billoting of men on them that refused to go.

I am,

Sir,

Your most Hum^l Serv^t

VOLCKERT DOUW.

To Col^l JOHN BRADSTREET D. Q. M. G.
At Albany.

PRIVY COUNCIL TO CADWALLADER COLDEN.

WHITEHALL June 11th 1762.

SIR,

Since our letter to you of the 11th of December and that of the 20 Janry last a duplicate of which we enclose, we have received yours of the 11th and 25 of Jan'ry and 11th of Feb'ry, together with the papers referred to in them.

It was with the greatest concern that we found the lower

House of Assembly still persisting in so undutiful and indecent an opposition to his Majesty's just rights and authority in the case of the tenure of the Judges Commissions, that they had taken such unjustifiable measures to compel government to acquiesce in their unreasonable pretensions, and that the puisne Judges had by their conduct and declarations in some degree countenanced and supported their measures.

Under these circumstances it became our duty humbly to lay before His Majesty the whole of the proceedings upon this business, and we doubt not but that in consequence thereof proper measures will be taken to support His Majesty's authority, and to preserve the dignity and independence of the Courts of Justice, and as the character of Mr Pratt, of which we have received the most favorable impressions, and his decent and steady behaviour upon this occasion has entirely entitled him to His Majesty's favor, we have stated his case fully to His Majesty, and have recommended his having a temporary allowance out of the Quit Rents as proposed in your letter to us.

Your conduct in steadily adhering to your Instructions by repeatedly refusing your assent to the Bill sent up from the Lower House for making the Judges commissions during good behaviour, is very much to be commended; but at the same time we cannot but be of opinion that you ought also, at all events, to have refused your assent to the Bill for the payment of the officers' salaries from September 1761 to September 1762, for although we are sensible that great inconveniences must have followed from it to yourself and the rest of the officers, yet no considerations of that kind at least, ought to have induced you to acquiesce in such an unprecedented and unjust attack upon the authority of the Crown, and as it appears to us in this light, we have thought it our duty humbly to propose that the act may be repealed.

We have fully considered the Act for the better collecting

his Majesty's Quit Rents and for partition of lands, and do think from what appears upon the face of it, and from an examination of what has passed upon former laws of the like kind, that it is not proper to be confirmed, but we have declined making any report upon it until it shall have undergone the examination of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, within whose department it more particularly lyes to determine upon propositions that so materially affect His Majesty's property and revenue.

When their Lordships to whom we have referred the Act, shall have favoured us with their sentiments upon it, we shall lay it before His Majesty, in the meantime we are sorry to be under the necessity of expressing our disapprobation of your conduct in assenting to a Law to take place immediately, the execution of which by the principles of the Constitution, as well as by the tenor of His Majesty's Instructions, does in so many particulars require to be suspended until His Majesty's Pleasure could have been known, and your conduct herein is the more exceptionable as so many laws of this kind have been repealed; and some of them upon representations of your own while acting in another station.

We acquainted you in our letter of the 11th of December last that we had in consequence of the doubts which had arisen upon the case of the crew of the Sampson Privateer in respect to the want of a Jurisdiction in the Plantations for the trial and punishment of murders committed within the Admiral's Jurisdiction, laid a state of the case, with some questions upon it before the Advocate, Attorney and Solicitor General.

The enclosed copy of that case and questions with their answer thereto will show you what their opinion has been, in consequence of which we thought it our duty to propose to His Majesty that a Bill should be prepared to be laid before Parliament for the more effectual trial and punishment in the Colonies of persons guilty of murder within

the Admiral's Jurisdiction; and having received His Majesty's commands to prepare such a Bill, with the advice and assistance of his Majesty's Advocate Attorney and Solicitor General, we have now this matter under consideration.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servants

SANDYS
E^d BACON
EDMOND THOMAS
GEO. RICE
JOHN ROBERTS.

CADWALLADER COLDEN Esq^r
L^t Gov^r of New York.

PETERS TO MONCKTON.

EASTON 20th June 1762.

SIR

Yesterday I did myself the honour to wish you joy on your happy return to your Family. The Bearer M^r Hamilton has brought me so many recommendations from Fort Pitt in expectation of my writing in his Favour for your Countenance that I know not how to resist his Importunities especially as they are very warmly seconded by M^r Croghan who will admit of no Denial. He says he is sure that such a person will be wanted in many parts of our new Conquests, & that I shall not embarrass General Monckton if I desire he may be recommended by him for some Employment in the West Indies. Croghan says further that as an Inspector or Keeper of the stores he has given the greatest satisfaction & that Col. Bouquet writes warmly for him to the Governor thinking that there might be still some

forces raised. Alas! our Assembly are obdurate & will not, now that they cannot gain any advantages over their Repr^s, stir one foot for the Crown, tho' the Exigency be never so great.

I cannot tell how to excuse my rudeness in thus humouring a set of acquaintance, but as he is the son of a very worthy Merchant and lived next to our house at Liverpool & with whom I was extremely intimate, if without any inconvenience he could be recommended to some Employ^t at Martinico or elsewhere I should esteem it as a very great Obligation. He is sensible & well versed in Business of all kinds being bred a Merchant & having made the Tour of the East Indies. Mr Hoops speaks very well of him & of his diligence, & that he is a good Accountant.

I write with a great deal of Confusion in knowing that I ought not to add to y^e number of this sort of solicitations wth w^{ch} I doubt not but you are heartily tired out.

I am

Your Excellencys

Most obedient

humble servant

RICHARD PETERS.

CH. JUST. B. PRATT TO GENERAL MONCKTON.

NEW YORK ASSEMBLY REFUSE TO GRANT SALARIES TO JUDGES WHILE
COMMISSIONED DURING PLEASURE.

MILTON June 22 1762.

SIR,

I Congratulate your Excellency, on the additional Glory you have acquired to yourself, & to Great Britain, by your late Important Conquests & assure you, I feel the most sen-

sible Joy & Gratitude on this happy Occasion. I wish myself present to felicitate you in Person, and to render you an Account of the State of my Office & of my Conduct relative thereto.

Soon after my Entering into Office, I found the Assembly determined to grant no Salary to the Judges, so long as their Commissions were *During his Majestys Pleasure*, & to have given me no more than £300 New York Currency, both as Salary & for Going the Circuits, even had the Commission been *During Good Behaviour*.

'Twas obvious to them, that I must desire such a Commission as was most sure & independent & that it could not be my Fault that it was not obtained. Yet they seemed to be inflexibly determined, That if I served the Colony in my Office, according to his Majesty's Intencion, I should have nothing for my service but their Displeasure.

The other Judges either resigned or Refused to act, & so continued untill sometime in April last. Had I alike Declined, the Supreme Court might have been Annihilated.

But being resolved, at all Events, to do my Duty, I continued to officiate, untill in last month, some urgent Affaires, in New England, Obliged me to ask Leave of Absence, & I accordingly had it untill September next.

Nothing but the Veneration & Obedience due to his Majestys Will could have Prevailed upon me to have quitted my state of Independence, in Business, & throw myself on the precarious Favour of any Assembly.

May it please your Excellency, £300 New York Currency is no larger nominal sum than was granted by the Assembly to the Chief Justice for his Salary 47 years ago, when a Chief Justice might with comparative Decency Maintain a Family at less than Half the present Expence, & when the Colony was not better Able to pay that sum, than they are now to pay £400 sterling.

Yet the Assembly by their vote of the first of September 1761 Resolve "That as the Salaries of the Judges of the

Supreme Court, have been & still appear to be sufficient to engage Gentlemen of the first Figure, both as to *Capacity & Fortune* IN THIS COLONY, to accept of those Offices, it would be *highly improper*, to augment the salary of the Chief Justice." And by the Act of Assembly subsequent to this Note, They make his Majesty receding from his Instruction respecting the Tenor of my Commission the necessary & previous Condition of my having even this £300, & consequently I am totally without one farthing salary, or future Prospect of any support from this or any other assembly.

'Tis not my Province to say whether his Majesty should or will confine his Appointments to Gentlemen of Capacity & Fortune in *New York*, & to such as will do the Business as cheap as the Assembly will be able to find Men willing to do it. Or whether his Majesty should or will agree to recede from his Instruction & make the Chief Justice totally independent on him, & at the same Time absolutely Dependant on the assembly for annual Grants. Yet I thought it necessary to have this Situation of my Office laid before the Lords of Trade & Plantations, & accordingly I have lately wrote a state of the Facts, & sent it Home for that Purpose.

And now beg Leave to submit the Case to Your Excellency, as a Matter that Concerns his Majesty's Rights, his Service & the real Interests of the People under your Government.

Things are now come to an unhappy Crisis in this Respect, the Kings Power of appointing his Chief Justice must henceforth be Nugatory, unless some Expedient can be found to render the Office of the Consequence that his Majesty & his Peoples Interests require, which cannot be the Case untill the Profits of the office afford a Decent Support, & worth the Acceptance of one Fit for the Office. The Quit Rents are a sufficient Fund for this end. I submit to your Consideration, whether it would not be for the

public Good, that there should be an establishment charged upon them for that Purpose.

I only add my Wishes that the Office may some how or other, consistent with the Royal Prerogative & Peoples Privileges, be so supported as to render it practicable to serve his Majesty, & the Colony in it. If not — I am compelled to resign, That his Majesty may not disapprove my Conduct, and that it may Merit your Excellencys Approbation, which with my Consciousness of having acted upon the strictest Principles of Honor, are all that I shall have to console myself for the irreparable Damage done to my own Interest. Pardon the Length of this Letter & believe me to be with greatest Respect & Duty

Y^r Excellencys most obed^t
hum Ser^t

BENJ. PRAT.*

To his Excellency Gov. MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

MILTON July 23 1762.

SIR,

After having, in a former Letter, given your Excellency a Detail of my Difficulties, relative to my office at New York, I hope you will not deem it unreasonable in me to desire to be excused from attending an Office in which I cannot be supported.

My leave of Absence expires next September. I beg your Excellency would please to consider how extremely hard it would be for me *then*, either, again to Leave my Family, or be at the Trouble & Expence to remove it, & return, without any Allowance for my past Attendance Time & Expence, Or the Least Assurance that the office will, in future, be provided for.

* Pratt was an eminent lawyer at Boston.

I have, May it please your Excellency, given up my Practice, & broke all my Measures to devote myself to this Office, *this*, together with my Absence from Home for Seven Months to do my Duty in it, & wait in vain for Justice, is a Sacrifice adequate to every Demand of Honor & Fidelity.

Neither his Majestys Service, nor the real Interest of the Colony can be promoted, by completing my Ruin.

And, I apprehend, I ought not to resign, untill I am sure of the Ultimate Determination of the Assembly, under your Administration, & if they persevere in their former sentiments, untill I can be apprized of his Majestys Pleasure, after he is informed of such Ultimate Determination.

I therefore beg your Excellency would please to give me Leave to continue where I am, & excuse my further Absence untill next Spring.

There is one Thing more, which renders it a peculiar Hardship to be obliged to return to, & reside at New York, during this, at the best, Uncertainty, that is this, I have never had the Small Pox, & where I am shall be safe from it. But at New York, must be so exposed, as to make it imprudent to be there without being inoculated, which to one of my Constitution & Age is no small Risque.

However unfortunate my situation might be, if it was a mere private Affair, & not the Consequence of my Attempt to Serve his Majesty, according to his Pleasure, in your Government, I could have no Right to trouble you with it. But I think the Public, & His Majestys Interest is concerned, & that my Suffering is in that Cause, & therefore presume to sollicite the Honor of a Letter from your Excellency, & therein the Leave of Absence as requested.

I am may it please y^r Excellency

with the Greatest Esteem & Regard

Y^r Excellencys most Dutiful & Obed^t

hum. ser^t

B. PRAT.

His Excellency the Gov^t &c.

COLDEN TO MONCKTON.

FLUSHING Aug 8th 1762.

SIR,

I have the honour of your Excellencies Letter of the 4th, with the papers inclosed, which I now return. As I had received your Excellencies Instructions, before I received the Originals of which these are duplicates, & had acknowledged the receipt of them, I thought they were of no further publick use: the chief design being to guard against the inconveniencies which might happen by miscarriage of the Instructions.

Inclosed your Excellency will receive a Copy of a Representation made by the Board of Trade, to the King. In some part of this representation their Lordships have certainly been misinformed of facts, and for that reason I thought they might take it amiss to have it communicated, but I hope they cannot take amiss the sending of the Copy to you. In it their Lordships represent, on information, which, they say may be depended on, that the Lieutenant Governor & the Council had entered on to measures, for making fresh grants, more for the benefit of themselves & of their families, than for the subject in General. Your Excellency has now an opportunity of inquiring into the truth of this information, as to myself, I say, that I have not been interested in any grant of lands, or licence of purchase in any shape or share, either directly or indirectly, by any person in trust for me, since the administration has been in my hands, or for twenty years preceeding, nor have I had so much as an inclination to be interested. Nor do I know, that any of my Children have been inter-

ested in any licence of purchase tho' I know no reason to debar them from any privileges or advantages which others have.

I am with great respect

S^r

Your most obedient

& most humble servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

His Excellency

The Hon^{ble} R^t MONCKTON.

SAME TO SAME.

FLUSHING Sept^r 20th 1762.

S^r

I have directed my son to deliver to your Excellency a state of the Account between you and me, for your examination & approbation. You may see that £169 is due to me from the Treasury for the payment of which please to issue your Warrants to the Treasurer. I have likewise directed my son to pay the Ballance of this account out of this money when received. When this is done, please to deliver my bond with a receipt endorsed, as it will then have had its full effect, & it is of no farther use. Your Excellency would have received the same benefit had no such bond been given. I am now upwards of 70 years of age & this is the first bond I had ever given. I shall be glad to have the honour of your Excellencys Commands that I may shew how much I am with the greatest respect

Sir

Your most obedient

& humble servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN.

His Excellency the Honourable
ROBERT MONCKTON.

KEMPE TO MONCKTON.

SIR

In pursuance of your Excellency's commands, I have the honour herewith to transmit you the form of the condition of a Bond, such as appears to me to be agreeable to the Statute restraining the exportation of provisions from the Colonies in America.

The Supreme Court being just ended I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency with what has been done in regard to the persons charged with illegal communication with the King's enemies. I have filed six Informations against them, comprehending all those persons mentioned in the affidavits in my possession, except one Jacobson (who stands charged with shipping ten barrels of fish only) whose other name I have not been able to learn, and those persons, mentioned in the information of John Fox, who are not to be found.

On requesting from Mr Moore Comptroller of the Customs here, an account when the several vessels mentioned in the affidavits in my possession cleared from the Custom House and what were their Cargoes: I find that the Susannah and Anne bonded for One Hundred barrels of flour, and twenty five tierces of fish, not mentioned in William Dobbs the master's affidavit of the contents of her cargo, and that the sloop Industry was bonded for a cargo of 316 casks of flour, 74 casks of beef, 70 firkins of butter, and a great quantity of fish not mentioned in Tennis the master's affidavit of the contents of her cargo. I there found also that Thomas Lynch of this City merchant had declared himself in the Custom House bond, the shipper of this cargo; I

have therefore included him in the information for the shipping it.

Of the Snow Johnson there is no mention made in the Custom House Books, as Mr Moore informs me, but a bond not perfected; and she laded in this Port a very large cargo of provisions, some naval stores and other merchandize without the notice, and I am inclined to think, without the knowledge of the Custom House Officers. This I imagine may not have been occasioned so much by the neglect of the out of door Officers viz. the Land and Tide waiter, Surveyor and Searcher & as an advantage taken of a practice, which I am informed has obtained in the Custom House, on its proceedings on this Act of Parliament.

The Statute enacts in substance this: that before any provisions are put on board any vessel for exportation, the owner or shipper shall at the Custom House declare the Colony and Port, to which he intends to send them, and shall take out a cocquet expressing the particulars of such cargo and enter into bond with two securities in treble the value of the commodities, that the same shall not be landed or sold at any other place — the bond to be void on returning a certificate pursuant to the Statute. And in case any provisions are laden before these prerequisites are performed, besides the loss of the provisions and the vessel, the shipper incurs certain penalties.

It being sometimes uncertain what quantity of provisions a merchant can procure to ship, or what his vessel will contain besides the other merchandize intended to be exported, or some other circumstances making it doubtful what he shall put on board — the Custom House Officers, I am informed, as well that the merchants might lose no time in lading their vessels, as to ease the shippers and themselves from the trouble of entering into, and taking more bonds than were necessary, have not pursued the Statute in requiring the prerequisites to the lading, but

have contented themselves with opening a bond for the vessel at the Custom House, and when she was laden complete, in taking the bond for the whole cargo at once. This practice, though it gives ease both to the merchant and them, yet the case of the *Snow Johnson* shows it to be unsafe. There was a bond opened for her signed by Mr Cunningham, but no blanks filled up, and when laden she was sent away without the bond being completed. By this means the Statute was eluded, and had it not been for this practice of the Custom House, which gives a kind of sanction to vessels lading after this manner, and as it were ties up the hands of the out of door officers from seizing vessels under such circumstances, it can hardly be conceived the *Johnson* ever could have carried out that cargo, or even laded it half, without being discovered and seized unless those out door officers were extremely negligent in their duty.

Having so far entered into the proceedings of the Custom House on this Statute, I would beg leave to observe to your Excellency further, that there seems not to be due care taken to bind the shippers of provisions in the penalty required by the Statute. It seems to be done by guess. In some cases they may exceed by such means in others they fall much short, to the great detriment of the Crown, in case of a forfeiture. A remarkable instance of which I have now before me in a Memorandum given me by the Comptroller. For the schooner *Charming Polly* (a cargo of 302 barrels of flour, 25 firkins of butter and six tierces of hams being shipped) a bond is given in £800. sterling and no greater penalty is taken for the sloop *Industry* whose cargo mentioned in the bond is 316 casks of flour 74 of beef, 70 firkins of butter, 22 hogsheads of fish and two casks of cheese, and in this last instance I may venture to say it is not much above half the penalty required.

I think I cannot in duty also omit mentioning to your Excellency, that I have the greatest reason to believe that many of these provision bonds have been illegally cancelled at the Custom House after they have become forfeited to the Crown, and that they still are so, to the no small detriment of the King's interest. I am far from intending hereby to charge any of the gentlemen of the Custom House with any bad design or intention herein, and hope your Excellency will not understand me in that light. I believe it springs from the Collector's mistaking the sense of the Statute, who insists that because it enacts that the bonds shall not be put in suit after three years, that therefore they may be cancelled if the certificates are produced within that time though the Statute expressly enacts, and the condition of the bond specifies, when the cargo is to be sent to the British Plantations in America, the certificate shall be returned within *twelve months*, and if to England or Ireland within *eighteen months* (the danger of the seas excepted) or the bond shall be forfeited.

As soon as I found this was the practice of the Custom House, I spoke to the Collector, but not being able to effect a change in his opinion, I thought my duty constrained me to represent it to Lieutenant Gov^r Colden, then President of the Council and Commander in Chief of the Province among other things I conceived injurious to the King's interest and tending to the impoverishment of the Crown, which I did by letter of the 18th Sep^r 1760, but without its producing an amendment of this practice, which I hoped would have been its effect.

The sending your Excellency the enclosed draft of the condition of the above-mentioned bond, formerly drawn by me for the Custom House, has occasioned the recurring of these things again to my memory, which induces me to make this representation to your Excellency, and which I hope will not be thought improper, as the duty of my

office compels me as far as in me lies to preserve the Crown's rights and be watchful of his Majesty's interests.

I have the honour to be
with great respect
Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant

J. T. KEMPE.

To his Excellency Governor MONCKTON.

NEW YORK Nov. 3^d 1762.

SMITH TO MONCKTON — MEMORIAL.

To his Excellency the Honourable ROBERT MONCKTON, Captain General and Governour in chief of the Province of New York, and the Territories depending thereon in America, Vice Admiral of the same, and Major General of his Majesty's forces &c

THE MEMORIAL OF WILLIAM SMITH

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your memorialist is a native of Buckinghamshire in Great Britain, was bred at College, and obtained the degrees in the Arts, was admitted of Gray's Inn, studied the law, and entered into the Practice and has for many years been employed in the Superior branches of business in the Courts of Law and Equity, *both* here and in the neighbouring Provinces.

That upon the death of Mr Bradley in one thousand seven hundred and fifty one, your Memorialist was appointed Attorney and Advocate General, and Mr Clinton, the then Governour conceiving it to be for his Majesty's service, strongly recommended it to the King's Ministers, to obtain his Majesty's confirmation of that appointment. But Mr Kempe who was then in England, having succeeded

in a prior nomination, your Memorialist was some time after superseded in the first of those offices, and freely relinquished the advocate general's place in favour of Mr Kempe, and by services for the Crown for which he had no part of the salary, and the diminution of his private practice, sustained a loss of several hundred pounds.

That for upwards of ten years past your Memorialist has served the late King and his present Majesty, at the Council Board for this Province, and from the extent of his practice at the Bar, and his late appointment by your Excellency, with the unanimous advice of the Council, to assist upon the Bench in the Supreme Court of Judicature, your Memorialist flatters himself that his conduct has met with general approbation.

The Judges of this Court, exercise here all the powers of the three great Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, at Westminster, which command their time and attention. They are obliged to sit four terms in the year at the City of New York, and besides this to make an annual circuit through ten counties. Northerly at the distance of above one hundred and sixty miles, and easterly near one hundred miles from the Capital. From the extent and variety of their trust executed in a growing Colony, already supposed to contain one hundred thousand souls, your Excellency will readily conceive of the vast importance of the Judges' offices, both to the Crown and the subject, and of the great anxiety and labour that must attend the discharge of them. It seems to result hence that an ample permanent provision ought to be made for them to support the dignity and independency of the offices, and to invite gentlemen of abilities in the law to resign a lucrative practice, and accept of that necessary and difficult trust. And yet, Sir, your Memorialist's salary depends on the will of the Assembly who provide only from year to year, amounts only to one hundred and fifty pounds currency, equal to about eighty pounds sterling (not equal to one

fourth part of his necessary annual support for many years past in more private life, nor equal to the incomes of an ordinary tradesman in this country.) And even this salary, though so small, is subject to a deduction for the expenses of the Circuits, always defrayed here by the Judges themselves. And thus as the perquisites are very inconsiderable, it must appear that the acceptance of the office is a mere sacrifice of private interest to the public service.

Your Memorialist need not suggest that the Assembly will not augment their salaries till the tenure of the Judges' Commissions is altered, and that the Crown will not suffer any change in that tenure. In the mean time your Memorialist cannot but hope, that upon your Excellency's representation of a case so interesting, and in which the honour and safety of the Government are deeply concerned, his Majesty will not leave the Judges to expend their private fortunes in the public service, especially as the Crown Quit-Rents in the Colony are a fund more than sufficient for that purpose.

Your Memorialist having an estate of his own, which places him in some degree of independence, is determined cheerfully to execute the great trust reposed in him, to the utmost of his abilities. He must, nevertheless, confess that he entered upon it not without hopes, that *his Majesty would be pleased to support the office*, and relieve his servants, and redress an evil productive of so many bad consequences to the public, that the private detriment of your Memorialist (however important to his large family) is comparatively of very little moment. The Bench is usually best supplied from the Bar, but men of abilities and small fortunes will not resign their *private* practice to starve in *public* office, nor indeed are they to be trusted if they would. It is therefore as well on behalf of the office as himself and family that your Memorialist has taken the liberty to become a suitor to your Excellency, and to suggest these hints which he hopes will appear to be due from his public

station in this Government, and which he has often made, before he had any private interest in the office of a Judge.

And as your Excellency is about to make a recess from your Province and may attend the Court of Great Britain, he prays your Excellency would be pleased to lay his case and the state of his office before his Majesty and to recommend and enforce with your interest a provision suited to the nature and importance of the Trust which he has the honour to sustain by your Excellency's appointment.

And your Memorialists will
ever pray &c

W^m SMITH.

NEW YORK 2^d June 1763.

COUNCIL OF NEW YORK TO GOVERNOR MONCKTON.

NEW YORK 26th June 1763.

SIR,

The Council cannot but express their concern at seeing themselves involved in a Reprehension from his Majesty upon a Report of the Board of Trade for passing the Bill entitled an Act for the payment of the Salaries and Services of the Government when their conduct in the course of it was as circumspect and cautious as possibly could be, which they are humbly of opinion your Excellency will admit when the following state of that transaction is considered which is simply this Upon the close of the sessions the Lieut. Governor came to the Council Chamber to give his assent to such Bills as were prepared for him and observing the Support Bill (as it is called) in particular had not passed the Council, he with some emotion asked the reason and to the surprize of the Council added "Do you intend to distress me" they answered, so far were their

intentions from distressing him, that they really apprehended he would not have passed it himself, as they judged it an improper Bill, and in such case it had better stop with them than with him, he replied he had very good reasons for passing it, would pass it and take the consequences to himself. They then consented rather than be thought to distress him, to let it pass the Council, provided the facts as they are now stated were entered upon the Minutes of the Council which he agreed to, and they accordingly passed it, unwilling too tenaciously to adhere to an opinion that in any sense might interfere with the public service, especially when his Honor had so openly declared he had good reasons for what he did, and would take the consequences upon himself.

This, may it please your Excellency is just the state of the case and if our conduct meets with your Excellency's approbation, as we flatter ourselves it will, when your Excellency arrives in England, for which you have our most sincere wishes, a true representation of the transaction will lay us under a singular obligation, that we may no longer suffer an imputation we cannot think our conduct on that occasion justly deserves.

DAN. HORSMANDEN
JNO. WATTS
WM WALTON
OLIVER DE LANCEY

To his Excell^y the Hon^{ble} Gen^l MONCKTON.

SMITH TO MONCKTON.

NEW YORK 20th July 1763.

SIR,

In reflecting upon your Excellency's proposal of the 6th of June last, two or three things have since occurred to

me, which your unsolicited Generosity, in designing me so public and honorable a mark of your consideration, induced me to take the liberty of suggesting.

Under an administration like yours, the vigorous and impartial exercise of every office, would be not only encouraged but enforced, and no officers can be so deeply interested in such a superintendency, as those who are to pass between the Crown and the subject in the distribution of Justice: But as a succession of such Governments is rather to be wished for than expected, I can't avoid expressing my desire, unless you return to a People who lament your departure with very great concern, that the office you have been pleased to design for me, may depend more immediately than at present upon the crown, by a new instruction that no Judge, appointed in England, be removed or suspended till special order from home, and previous notice given of the application for that order to the officer concerned, that he may prepare his defence. The present instructions, I believe, Sir, do not favor the security of any other officers, than those holding under the great Seal of England: and I presume that in this case, your Excellency will solicit only a Mandamus under the signet and sign manual directing the Commission to issue under the seal of the Province. If the instruction extended only to a President and Lieutenant Governor, it would be no small security to the office, both in Freedom & Dignity.

But there is another Dependence, which I am sure your Excellency will think it necessary to guard against for reasons of the most important kind. I mean that upon the officers concerned in collecting the Quit Rents, for I take it for granted, that the salary will be charged upon that fund.

For want of a Court of Exchequer, all the fines imposed from the first settlement of the Colony and many forfeitures have been lost. No estreat of the fines was ever yet made

from any of our courts. The Sheriffs generally, and the justices in the country sometimes have received them; and no account has been rendered to the Crown. The Quit-Rents too, through the indolence of the Receiver-General, who is under no check here are always most shamefully in arrear. And as in the acceptance of this office, even with a salary of £500. Sterling, I give up a Practice of more than double that Income, lose many opportunities of serving my friends, and must besides for the support of the Dignity of that station give into a manner of life, that will expose me to an annual diminution of my own Fortune, I cannot avoid some solicitude for the punctuality of the payments, and above all a freedom from any disgusting dependance upon the will and indolence of a Receiver General.

It is said that the Quit Rents would annually bring in above £2000.* sterling; and yet I have known the Secretary for Indian affairs, soliciting several years the payment of a salary of £100. Proclamation without success, tho' the other charges for certain officers of the Customs, the Auditor and the Receiver himself, I believe, are not all together equal to a third part of that branch of the Revenue.

Until the organization of a Court of Exchequer, which would remedy many evils, I must beg your Excellency's interest for the issuing of pointed directions to the Receiver General, to compel the collection of the King's rents, under a late law of the Province passed for that purpose, and for a peremptory clause that this salary be paid in preference of all others, as the office itself claims that distinction among all those having the aid of that Fund.

Upon the whole, Sir, I hope nothing I have written will be understood to tack any condition to my former acceptance of your Bounty. No man can have stronger reasons

* Should be currency as corrected in his letter of 14th August following.

than myself to rely intirely upon your Excellency's kindness, for which I beg you will accept my most grateful and sincere acknowledgments. Whatever expence will accrue at the offices, on the success of your unmerited designs in my favour, Mr Sergeant a merchant in London will readily defray, according to orders now given to him by your Excellency's

most obliged

& obedient humble Ser^t

W^m SMITH JUN^r.

KEMPE MEMORIAL.

To His Excellency the Honourable ROBERT MONCKTON Esquire Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over the Province of New York, and the Territories thereon depending in America, Vice Admiral of the same, and Major General of his Majesty's Forces.

The Memorial of JOHN TABOR KEMPE Esq^r his Majestys Attorney General for the Province of New York

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That on the 31st July 1759 your Memorialist was appointed Attorney General of the said Province under the Great Seal thereof, on the death of his father who was his immediate predecessor; which appointment his Majesty hath since been pleased graciously to confirm.

That on the 18th June 1733 Richard Bradley Esq^r then Attorney General of the said Province, obtained a salary of One Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling per annum payable out of the Exchequer in England, which salary your Memorialist hath also obtained.

That though that salary when first established with the perquisites of the office, might have been a competent support for the officer, yet the same is now entirely insufficient for that purpose, occasioned by the enhanced price

of every necessary to at least fourfold, and indeed very soon after it appears to have been insufficient for the support of Mr Bradley, who died poor though he lived retired.

That the perquisites of the office were ever very considerable, but have since Mr Bradley's death been rendered much less by an Act of the Assembly passed here in the year 1754 entitled an Act to prevent malicious informations in the Supreme Court of Judicature for the Colony of New York.

That the business of the office is grown vastly more burthensome than it was in the year 1733 when that salary was obtained, and now consumes nearly the whole time and attention of your Memorialist, who is also in this Province obliged to do the duty of the Master of the Crown Office and the Clerk of the Crown.

That your Memorialist is excluded from the benefit of private practice in his profession, not only because most of his time is spent in the business of his office, but because through jealousy of an officer in your Memorialists department, few persons will submit their title deeds to his inspection

That your Memorialist having discharged the duties of Master of the Crown Office and Clerk of the Crown (duties not properly belonging to his office) applied lately to the General Assembly of this Province, hoping they would have passed an Act providing permanent allowances for such services, whereas notwithstanding your Excellency's favourable representations, they only gave your Memorialist Three Hundred Pounds Currency without any assurance that this aid should be drawn into precedent, or engaging to make any farther provision, and your Memorialist has been well informed he must expect nothing more from them.

That your Memorialist hitherto instead of being able to support his family in a manner suitable to his station and

necessary for his Majesty's service, hath been obliged to go into an appearance and frugality not likely to give the proper weight to his office, and yet has annually spent much more than his income.

That your Memorialist on a very late enquiry at the Receiver General's office into the state of the funds arising from the Quit-Rents of this Province, conceives they are sufficient to allow a proper addition to your Memorialist's salary for his support, being informed their annual amount is about Two Thousand Pounds New York money, charged only with salaries of five hundred and ten pounds sterling per annum.

And as your Memorialist humbly conceives, that upon a representation of his case to the King, his Majesty will provide for the support of the weight and dignity of an office so important to the interests of the Crown, and a suitable recompense to your Memorialist for the extraordinary labours, to which he is obliged to submit,

Your Memorialist therefore humbly prays your Excellency to do him that kind office and to encourage the application with your interest, which will command the grateful acknowledgments of

Your Excellency's
most obedient and
most humble servant

J. T. KEMPE

NEW YORK July 22^d 1763

WATTS TO MONCKTON.

NEW YORK, 23^d July 1763.

(Pitt packet)

DEAR SIR—

With this you will receive four Letters & one Packet, from I don't know who, but different hands — The Sale

of your furniture is over & our Connoisseurs are of opinion has gone off very well, but I believe you will be of a different mind, owing they say to your paying like a Governor — I believe too there is something in that, tho' I could observe the peace has cheapened things & lessen'd people's keenness, as well as made money scarce — I must refer you to Deale for particulars — We constantly had an eye on the sales & are well assur'd, as times go, more could not have been done. I have already set Deale about collecting the money and as fast as it comes in, it shall be remitted. We don't know what is the fate of Detroit, Machilimachinack & St. Josephs, but Presq'Isles, Sanduski, Le Beuf & Venango are cut off, & the poor soldiers butcher'd, all except a very few. Presq'Isle surpris'd us, because it was represented strong, M^r Pitcher who was there says it was well palisadoed or Stuckadoed, I don't know the difference, had a good ditch, cover'd way & a glacis, dont laugh, I'll use no more terms of art I dont understand — Provisions & ammunition I do, & of these they had enough — The General has ask'd no men, his honor told us in Council, he hop'd to do without them, I doubt it much, tis a serious affair in my opinion, it must be numbers & activity to hunt such a parcel of wolves to their retreats and lurking places, defensive work cannot do — The Broad Brims of Pennsylvania voted seven hundred men to cover their harvest, the General sent Coll^o Robinson to ask them — No, but they might as well have said yes, & have sav'd their credit, for I suppose they will never be rais'd, the Governor told the Colonel if he was to consent to it the populace would pull down his house — Norris the Speaker, when he was press'd to put them under the General's Command, as a matter of right, said they were no soldiers, only arm'd Peasants — Cap^t Dalyell with about three hundred men left Oswego 3^d Ins^t it is said destin'd to Detroit. farther I know not, but should not be surprised to hear he had lost the skin off his head among the mysterious and savage race of Vermin.

Mr Temple I believe will get Mr Aphorpe to act for him, he offer'd to make me Principal on condition I would give him part of the emolument, till a new appointment took place, but I thought it too late, a body would feel queer to be superseded —

I am ever —

Every body says, come back —

NEW YORK, 31st July 1763.

My last was 23^d inst. by the Pitt Packet — I can write you scarce any thing now that Cap^t Wood will not personally communicate to you better — He goes home I believe to be cured of the malade de Pais, Strange! — Deale has paid me a thousand pounds which I shall remit by the next conveyance this is a surprize upon us & the day of rest, however I have so broke in upon it, as to inclose you two Packets & a Letter that have fallen into my hands since I wrote you last — Indian affairs are not at all mended, at a Treaty held at the German Flatts, not one of the Senecas appeared, the rest brightened the chain except one Castle of the Mohawks who are sullen about the Patent so often complain'd of which in the Treaty they styled their "Bread Lane." I am afraid that confounded Patent will bring mischief upon us yet, Clock the fellow that we prosecuted was tried at Albany & came off triumphant. These vile Dutch will swear any thing for one another.

My respects to all friends & still believe me —

Nothing has been done since you left us but proroquing the Assembly — The old man still in the Country.

SAME TO SAME.

NEW YORK, 13th Aug. 1763.

DEAR SIR,

If I could trust Gate's proving compos, by the time he gets home I would not say a word, and only inclose you De Lancey & Watts Bill on the Contractors for £500, st^g at 90 pr. ct. am^t to £950 — Exchange is high but the Mohairs give it every day. I was call'd upon for another Bill while I was filling up yours — You can't lose by it I think, Exchange being more likely to rise than fall. I tried the old Beaux for some silver or gold, but you might have as well struck fire out of Flummery, indeed I believe they want all, Coll^o Robertson is embarking for the Southern Dominion ceded to us, St. Augustine, Pensicola, Mobile, &c : & takes with him a pretty good sum for the pay of the Troops & another &c : , he returns as soon as the Posts are established, which I hope wont be soon — not a post or fort left beyond Pittsburg or Niagara, except Detroit, which Gladwin has defend'd much to his honor, but poor Donald Campbell trusting himself among the savage vermin by way of Treaty, they detain'd him, & while he was confin'd, a Sachem being kill'd, they inhumanly butcher'd him.

Cap^t Dalyel was reach'd the length of Presq'Isle, but hearing Detroit was safe & the Indians retired, he is halted there it's said to rebuild the Fort.

The General to be sure knows best, but I cannot think the parties out either numerous or strong enough to punish and intimidate such wretches into a peace. No Provincials have been or are likely to be demanded this season, nor any thing been done since you left us but proroguing the Assembly —

Eight platoons of twenty each are raising under Gorham

to go up to the Lakes, but the work goes on very heavily, the critical time they say was lost, they seem to have been rais'd out of the men from the Havanna, whose time was expired, but too much *economy* suffere'd them to disperse.

Deale has yet paid me no more money, he is busy collecting, Coll^o Amherst continues but poorly, your other friends all well & always remember you. My regards to the children & to the few others I may have the honor of being known to in the circle of your acquaintance,

& believe me very truly

D^r S^r

Y^r Most Ob^t &

Humb^l Serv^t

JN^o WATTS.

I send you a Packet & a Letter lately left with me for you.

SMITH TO MONCKTON.

NEW YORK 14th August 1763.

SIR,

I did myself the honour to write to your Excellency on the 20th of July last, and charged the delivery of that letter upon M^r John Sergeant a London merchant I now take the liberty to inclose a duplicate, and to correct a mistake contained in it, not discovered till it was actually delivered into the mail.

The error is in that part which respects the amount of the Quit Rent Fund, and the officers who have salaries out of it. Instead of £2000. sterling, the Crown Rents do not exceed so many pounds currency; and the annual charge upon it, is £510. sterling for the Auditor and Receiver General and M^r Clarke the Secretary. The officers of the Customs for the Northern District are paid out of a

fund, arising by the duties on trade and forfeitures accruing by infraction of the Acts of Trade; and thus the reason of my former request for a preference in the payment seems to be enforced, especially before the Secretary and Receiver General. The Secretary's salary of £200. is a trifle to his perquisites and if the Receiver General is to be last paid, it will spur him to an assiduous discharge of his duty.

Such being the small value of the Crown Rents, I am in some pain for the puisne judges, and the Attorney General who have applied for your Excellency's interest. Perhaps his Majesty may be pleased to order them allowances out of the duties and forfeitures received at our Custom House, and I believe annually transmitted to the order of the Commissioners of the Customs in England.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's most faithful &
obed^t servant

WM. SMITH JUN^r.

His Excellency General MONCKTON.

WATTS TO MONCKTON.

NEW YORK 25th Aug^t 1763.

D^r. S^r.

Doctor Catherwood will convey to you this Bundle which contains little else than Paper — Every thing remains in the old position except that by an express yesterday from Coll^o Bouquet we are told that he was attacked 5th inst. about twenty six miles from Pittsburg, three different times but had as often repulsed the enemy with the loss of about fifty men kill'd, wounded and missing. Cap^t Lieut. Graham & Lieut M^cIntosh of the R. Highlanders kill'd &

Douce of the R. Americans shot thro' the body — the 8th at Ligonier they had heard no more of the Colonel & therefore presume he has got to Pittsburg, but can this end the war, when all the Army we can muster is scarce able to reach an advanc'd post in fear & trembling, or how is a communication to be kept up when it requires nearly the whole force to pass. I wish we were decently out of this dirty scrape — About sixty of the Ottawa's are in Council at Montreal, like Scotch policy one half of these people disclaim the measures of the other & have brought there Etherington ——— who was taken at Machilimachinack with some traders, furs, &c. — Etherington came hither from Montreal & is return'd to Niagara to join the first battalion to which he belongs, he says they have not destroy'd the Fort, but that the French live in & make use of it, are worse than the Indians, that the different nations are much divided among themselves, but the Chippewas' the most numerous are the most mischievous, and that our own Six Nations he believes are as bad as any & are at the bottom of the mischief from a discontent at the little importance they are now of, & the neglect real or imaginary, they think themselves treated with.

I am directed by the Governors of the College to return your Excellency their most grateful acknowledgments for your generous donation conferr'd on them, they entertain the highest sense of your good will towards the Institution, & would be glad long to pay you their personal respects.

Deale has paid me no more money. Inclos'd is the second Bill of De Lancey & Watts on the Contractors for £500. st^g in your favour.

I am always D^r S^r

Y^r most oblig^d humb^l Serv^t

JN^o WATTS.

As I find Wyman was to send you the papers. When he omits, I'll fulfil.

NOTES.

Page 11. — A copy, not complete, nor in good condition, of Pory's translation of Leo Africanus is in the library of our Society. Pory's additions slightly exceed a fifth of the whole work. They relate, chiefly, to parts of Africa, not described by Leo, and display great learning and a thorough knowledge of all that had been written on the subject by classical and later authors.

Pages 42 to 46. — The vindication, attempted in the notes to these pages, of Argall's capture and dispersion of the French at Mount Desert, is corroborated by the portion, now remaining, of the Reply to the complaint against Argall's proceedings made to King James by the French ambassador, Admiral Montmorency. This Reply, partly consumed by fire, is in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum. A copy was obtained, and furnished a prominent subject of discussion at the meeting of the Maine Historical Society at York, on the 22d of August, 1870.

Ex-President Leonard Woods of Bowdoin College, in his lucid and judicious comments on its various bearings, maintained that the Reply furnishes ample proof that the English authorities were thoroughly confident of the validity of their title to all the territory to the 45° of north latitude, and were determined to defend it; and, besides, that the French acquiesced in their views.

From the extracts from the Reply recited at a later hour by the Hon. John A. Poor, as published in the Boston "Advertiser" of the 31st of August, 1870, it is clear, first, that Argall was, by a regular commission from Sir Thomas Dale, not only authorized, but commanded, to expel the French wherever found in the territory; and, secondly, that, in executing the orders given him, he committed no act of inhumanity or cruelty; but, on the contrary, consulted, as far as possible, the wishes and convenience of Monsieur La Saussaye (not "Taussy") and his thirty-two companions. La Saussaye, his two Jesuits, and "at least ten others" of his company, acknowledged the offers he made to facilitate their return home, with many attestations of the great humanity and courtesy shown them.

The French, by firing the first gun, were the occasion of all the violence that occurred.

Argall had a certificate, under the seal of the colony, "that he had in no way exceeded the commission given him."

ERRATA.

Page 17, line 2, note, for "Hobbs" read "Hobbes."





